APPENDIX D COMMUNITY MEETING RESULTS

Possibility statements are descriptions of desired future conditions for El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro NHT, and have formed the basis of the alternatives. These statements were developed during community meetings in 2001, and could be implemented through community action and partnerships.

Possibility statements from El Paso, Texas - October 15, 2001

- Interpretation, preservation, restoration.
- It is essential that the route, including hiking and interpretive trails, follow the original historic route. To facilitate the project, the natural environment (riparian and desert) should be preserved and restored; then, there should be recognition of where historic events took place; and finally, there needs to be a unifying theme especially in signage.
- I live in a community, where we should develop El Camino Real as a backbone uniting local and regional historic, cultural, and community resources in an interpretive way.
- More and enhanced parks and trails, to foster outdoor recreational opportunities and appreciation of natural and cultural community.
- Regional coordination, promotion, preservation, and interpretation of the Camino Real.
- Education, access, preservation, economic development.
- We live in a community where fragmentation has been eliminated. A central point of responsibility involving all the

communities on the Río Grande, including bi- national politicians and educators, together have developed a cohesive plan to foster a bi- national understanding of El Camino Real.

A long- trail theme, which ties local communities together and allows events on the trail; incorporates existing and new features to be used for the protection of natural resources; and benefits and ensures safety of the people, which promotes knowledge and understanding of the trail.

Possibility statements from Socorro, New Mexico - October 16, 2001

- Develop a range of recreational opportunities that contribute to the economic benefit of communities and Socorro and Sierra Counties, including birding, fishing, hot springs, horseback riding, National Radio Astronomy Observatory, radio, Battle of Valverde re- enactment, and other special events.
- Keep our culture alive.
- An El Camino Trail Passport. Each community to have been facilitated with educational and economic advantages to encourage participation in multifaceted visitation, including ecotourism, edutourism, and agritourism. Each facility to have individual stamps. Revenue will be generated from visitors to each site. Money (funding) flowing in by the wheelbarrow loads.
- Cultural and transportation corridor.
 Overall cultural immersion. Connections with Mexico and Spain with physical artifacts/demonstrations. Education

including, history, archeology, high points, and cultural portrait. Preservation/protection of trails; use previously impacted areas.

Possibility statements from Albuquerque, New Mexico - October 17, 2001

- Make the trail into a living experience that is accessible to people with disabilities, bicycles, horseback, and walkers – no motor vehicles.
- A comprehensive plan, focusing on preservation, and multiple stories/perspectives, providing public interpretation for *all* people in English and Spanish through a variety of educational methods.
- Quality El Camino Real history and heritage is told by New Mexico people who know the history and resources.
 Interpretation is offered all along El Camino Real to both visitors and local people/communities, and inspires people to protect resources. The international nature of the trail is emphasized: past, present, and future.
- Link communities and community centers along the trail, with emphasis on education, historic site identification, and Spanish emphasis and contribution of the trail, in both U.S. and Mexico.

 Trail offers opportunity to go on an interactive adventure to learn about the [history and culture of New Mexico trade and travel] evolution of the trail consisting of the trade, travel, culture, and recreation.

Possibility statements from Española, New Mexico - October 20, 2001

- Each community being able to tell their own story through visitor centers/interpretive centers/cultural centers along the trail, with centers highlighting the significance of history, traditions, and way of life. Centers will serve to promote, preserve, and protect history and resources pertaining to that community, including living exhibits, oral histories, and promoting local crafts involving youth and peoples of the communities.
- Interpretive centers with educational programs on El Camino Real communities.
- Make the trail a living experience for residents and visitors through awareness of cultural heritage.
- Information, communication, and outreach by awareness through maps and signs and interdisciplinary studies preserving multi- cultural history.

APPENDIX E HIGH-POTENTIAL HISTORIC SITES

National Trails System Act, SEC. 12. [16USC1251] As used in this Act:

(1) The term "high potential historic sites" means those historic sites related to the route, or sites in close proximity thereto, which provide opportunity to interpret the historic significance of the trail during the period of its major use. Criteria for consideration as high potential sites include historic significance, presence of visible historic remnants, scenic quality, and relative freedom from intrusion..

Mission Ysleta, Mission Trail

El Paso, Texas NATIONAL REGISTER Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th Century

Mission Ysleta was first erected in 1692. Through a series of flooding and fire, the mission has been rebuilt three times. Named for the patron saint of the Tiguas, the mission was first known as San Antonio de la Ysleta. The beautiful silver bell tower was added in the 1880s.

The missions of El Paso have a tremendous history spanning three centuries. They are considered the longest, continuously occpied religious structures within the United States and as far as we know, the churches have never missed one day of services.

Mission Socorro, Mission Trail

El Paso, Texas Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th Century

Built of adobe in 1692, Mission Socorro also experienced natural disasters through her history lending her to be rebuilt several times. The famous Statue of Saint Michael was brought to the mission from Mexico by oxcart in the early 1800s. One will also find an excellent example of

Indian and Spanish architecture including carved ceiling beams called "vigas" and bell tower.

The missions of El Paso, have a tremendous history spanning three centuries. They are considered the longest, continuously occupied religious structures within the United States and as far as we know, the churches have never missed one day of services.

San Elizario, Mission Trail

El Paso, Texas NATIONAL REGISTER Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th Century

San Elizario was built first as a military presidio to protect the citizens of the river settlements from Apache attacks in 1789. The structure as it stands today has interior pillars, detailed in gilt, and an extraordinary painted tin ceiling.

The missions of El Paso, have a tremendous history spanning three centuries. They are considered the longest, continuously occpied religious structures within the United States and as far as we know, the churches have never missed one day of services.

Oñate Crossing

El Paso, Texas

Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th Century

The Oñate Crossing of the Rio Grande in 1598 is commemorated at this small park next to the river. The original crossing was near here. Once Oñate and his contingent of settlers crossed the river he held a thanksgiving in what is now the United States. One of the first bridges to be erected in the area would have been in or very near the location of the crossing.

Boundary Marker #1

Sunland Park, New Mexico NATIONAL REGISTER Era: 19th Century

Boundary Marker # 1 is a four- sided pyramid of white limestone on the West bank of the Rio Grande on the Mexico- New Mexico border. It is the first boundary marker placed after the setting of the international boundary in 1855(*?) There is a small park here on each side of the border where people from each nation can gather and mingle together.

Keystone Park

El Paso, Texas ARMS (41 EP 494)

Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th Century

Keystone Park is a wetlands site in additional to an archeological site. It is slated for development. It is located along the edge of El Paso's Upper Valey in the path of what was to become the Camino Real trail from Mexico to Santa Fe. During the Archaic period, 4000 years before the appearance of the Spanish, prehistoric Native Americans extablished a village at the edge of the Rio Grande. The Indians built pit houses with shallow, basin-shaped floors and covered with an igloo-shaped or tipi-like structure of timber and branches, plastered with a thin layer of clay. The poeple settled close to theri er and marsh, gathering wild plants and hunting animals such as rabbits.

Brazito, Bracito Battlefield, Paraje

Mesquite, New Mexico North of Mesquite, NM and south of Brazito Schoolhouse off NM 478. Era: 18th and 19th Century

Significance: Long- time paraje; mail exchange point on the Camino Real; site of the first land grant in southern New Mexico; site of the Battle of Bracitos during the Mexican-American War.

Annotated History: This campsite, between the east bank of the Río Grande and the Organ Mountains, was used by Lafora on 7 August 1766. He located it some 20 leagues north of the place where he crossed the river. From this paraje, Lafora went to Robledillo (Alessio Robles 1939:90-91).

Robert Julyan places the modern "Brazito" five miles south of Las Cruces, New Mexico, and noted that only a schoolhouse remains of the settlement. He added that in 1776 it was known as "Huerto de los Brazitos" and was part of a the nineteenth- century "Brazito Land Grant" to Juan Antonio García, which stretched along the Río Grande for eight miles south of Las Cruces (Julyan 1996:49). Rancho del Bracito was the exchange point for mail runs between Santa Fé and Chihuahua in the 1820s (Bloom 1913:16; Moorhead 1957:112).

On Christmas day, 1846, the Missouri Volunteers under Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan defeated a Mexican unit at the Battle of Bracitos and then went on to occupy El Paso and invade Chihuahua. George Rutledge Gibson, a soldier in Doniphan's army, wrote that the name Bracito referred to a bend in the river just above the battlefield. The U.S. army had stopped to camp by the river just north of the site where the engagement took place. The Mexican army was at an elevation and had the mountains to their backs as the battle began (Bieber 1935:300,303-305,308-309). A contemporary map reproduced in the 1997 edition of the Hughes journal gives little context but appears to show the river at its closest approach to the hills. It also shows the island formed by the Bracito from which the name was derived (Hughes 1997:133). In February 1847, Susan

Shelby Magoffin visited the site of the battle and described it as a "perfect plain" (Drumm 1926:202). According to Max Moorhead, the "Paraje de Bracitos" was "on a little arm of the Río Grande encircling a sandy island" (Moorhead 1958:19).

A soldier, Marcellus Ball Edwards, recounted being in a camp about a mile below Doña Ana on 20 December 1846. His company was directed to go a few miles and set up an outpost, but went 12 according to his estimate, before finding a suitable place. There, the river ran close enough to the hills on the east side of the valley that the road ran over sand hills. On Christmas Eve, this company went another mile, and on Christmas, twelve miles to the site of the battle. That adds up to an estimate of 26 miles from Doña Ana and the site of the Battle of Bracitos (Bieber 1936:224-228). John Taylor Hughes, another soldier with Doniphan, confirms that the camp described by Edwards was about 12 miles from Doña Ana, but placed the camp one mile below as 15 from Doña Ana. He thought it another 18 from there to Bracito (Hughes 1997:130-131). Gibson recalled marches of 12 and 14 miles, a total of 26, between a camp near Doña Ana and the battlefield (Bieber 1935:298-300). The consensus of these estimates is that it was some 26 miles from the town of Doña Ana to Bracitos by the road on which the army traveled. When he passed by in 1855, W.W.H. Davis placed Fort Fillmore, built in 1851, a few miles above the battlefield of Bracito (Davis 1938:212; Frazer 1965:99).

There is some historiographical confusion surrounding the relative locations of historical sites in this section of the Río Grande valley. Max Moorhead wrote that the paraje was a few miles south of the site of the 1846 battle (Moorhead 1958:19). William A. Keleher located Fort Fillmore on the site of Bracito and estimated that it was about four miles south of Las Cruces, about the same distance north of Mesilla, New Mexico, and 36 miles from El Paso, Texas (Keleher 1952:196,n.9). Robert W. Frazer placed Fort Fillmore six miles south of Mesilla (Frazer 1965:99). However, Robert Julyan put Fort Fillmore, 1852-1863, six miles south of Las Cruces and one mile east of Bracito (Julyan 1996:134).

The precise location of the point on the Río Grande known as el Bracito, by which the paraje was known, can best be identified from testimonies and evidence given in the Bracito (Hugh Stephenson), Doña Ana, Mesilla, and Santo Tomás de Iturbide land grant cases before the Surveyor General and Court of Private Land Claims. According to testimony, in 1864 floodwater caused the Río Grande to break away from its old channel and change course substantially. The eventual disposition of the above named grants hinged upon the definition of the riverbed of the 1850s. Through witnesses and surveys, the bed of the Río Grande before 1864 was determined. Therefore, the boundaries of those grants can be taken as the riverbed of the 1850s. It is also clear that the course of the river could have changed more than once since the opening of the Camino Real. That cautionary note should make researchers wary of unequivocal statements regarding the locations of the road, paraje, or the river bed in the lower Río Grande valley of centuries ago.

Most importantly for locating El Paraje de los Bracitos, descriptions of the Bracito Grant show that at its inception its northwestern corner was on the old river bed at the point that was known as Bracito in 1805. In subsequent testimonies, descriptions, and maps, that description is sustained. At its inception it was specified that the grant began at a point known as "el Brasito" and that name continued to be used to describe the same location. In 1820, it was specified that the acequia of the same name was taken from the river at "el Paraje que nombran el Brasito". In the documents filed after the United States occupation of New Mexico that particular acequia was used as the landmark (Hugh Stephenson Grant:892,901,964,passim).

In his map, "Plano del Rio del Norte desde San Elceareo hasta el paraje de San Pasqual" (1773), Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco shows Bracitos at the southernmost eastward bend of the river that defined the Ancón de Doña Ana before the flood of 1864 (Adams and Chávez 1956:268). The point at which the northern boundary of the Bracito or Stephenson Grant leaves the old river bed, its western boundary, and extends east is, then, the place given in 1805 as El Bracito. That also conforms to the Miera y

Pacheco map. The paraje, while not a precise and enclosed point, was likely centered on that location.

Charles M. Haecker, "Brazito Battlefield: Once Lost now Found." New Mexico Historical Review, 72(July 1997) no. 3, pp.229-238.

Fort Fillmore

New Mexico Era: 19th Century

Along the Rio Grande not far from the Mexican border and a few miles southeast of the town of Mesilla, this tiny adobe fort was founded in 1851 to control local Apaches. by the end of the 1850s it had declined and fallen into disrepair. In 1861, however, spurred by rumors of Confederate invasion of New Mexico, the Army reinforced the fort. During July a force of 250 Texans took Mesilla. Failing in an attempt to liberate the town, the garrison abandoned the fort and marched toward Fort Stanton, but was captured east of las Cruces. The next summer, California Volunteers temporarily occupied the post before moving into Mesilla.

Issue of El Palacio, Summer 1967, vol. 74, no. 2 (Fort Fillmore issue).

La Ranchería (Las Cruces)

Era: 18th Century

Significance: Though not an often-mentioned *paraje*, this was a frequent habitation of local Indians and is now the site of Las Cruuces, the largest city in southern New Mexico.

Annotated History: On 22 May 1726 Rivera followed the bank of the Río Grande eight leagues and stayed at a *paraje* next to the river called Ranchería, which used to be inhabited frequently by the Mansos Indians before they were converted to pueblo life (Alessio Robles 1946:49).

A comparison of the distances given by Rivera and Lafora in the lower Río Grande valley shows Ranchería Grande a little north of Bracito. The referenced map ("Plano del Rio del Norte," 1773)

by Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco shows Doña Ana and Bracito at what appear to be eastward bends of the river that defined the Ancón de Doña Ana before the flood of 1864. The Ranchería Grande is depicted as in the bend between those two points, which takes in the area of Las Cruces (Adams and Chávez 1956:268).

Mesilla Plaza (La Mesilla)

Mesilla NATIONAL REGISTER, NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK Era: 18th and 19th Century

In 1848 the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo established the area west of the Río Grande occupied by present- day Mesilla as part of Mexico. (In local usage, it is more often called Mesilla or Old Mesilla.) Las Cruces and Doña Ana, on the east bank of the river, were in American territory. Anglo- Americans arrived to claim land in such force that many native Mexicans moved away. Those who preferred to remain in the area but on Mexican soil crossed the river and settled on a small rise in the river valley. The settlement, known as Mesilla (little table), included about half the population of Doña Ana.

In 1853 the Mexican government issued the Mesilla Civil Colony Land Grant and the town was formed. In 1854 the Gadsden Purchase was negotiated, acquiring from Mexico a strip of land south of New Mexico and Arizona which stretched from Texas to California- 29,142,400 acres for \$10 million- a wedge of level land which would eventually serve as the southern railroad route to the Pacific coast. The erstwhile Mexican residents of Mesilla found themselves in the United States.

The new government honored land ownership under the Mexican land grant. On November 16, 1854, the treaty was symbolically formalized in the plaza at Mesilla. The flag of Mexico was lowered, and the flag of the United States was raised. Officials and soldiers from both governments were on hand to see that it was done right. Local Mexican officials swore allegiance to the new government. Residents who did not want to

live under it were "notified to leave and take refuge in Mexican dominions."

In 1858 Mesilla became a stop on the Butterfield Overland Mail route which linked St. Louis and San Francisco. Waterman L. Ormsby, a reporter for the New York Herald, rode the first westbound stage; he described the community. There were more than three thousand inhabitants. He saw "irrigated fields groaning with the weight of heavy crops." But he was not impressed by the cluster of one- story adobe houses; they looked like "miserable dog kennels."

On July 25, 1861, the Civil War came to Mesilla. Lt. Col. John R. Baylor, commanding 258 Texan troops in Confederate service, occupied the village without firing a shot and settled down to await the arrival of Union forces from nearby Fort Fillmore.

Baylor forthwith issued a proclamation taking possession of all of New Mexico south of the thirty- fourth parallel of north latitude "on behalf of the Confederate States of America." He dubbed it the Territory of Arizona: "The city of Mesilla is hereby designated as the seat of government of this Territory." Baylor was appointed governor.

Thirteen months later, in August, 1862, the "California Column" under Gen. James H. Carleton recaptured Mesilla and the surrounding area for the Union.

During its heyday, Mesilla was a bustling community. George Griggs, a lifelong resident, told of activities in his book History of the Mesilla Valley or The Gadsden Purchase. Its prime season began on December 12 with the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe and ended on March 2 with the fiesta of St. Alvino, the patron saint of the town. People came from as far away as Santa Fe, Tucson, and Chihuahua. Ladies came to buy velvet gowns and satin shoes; men came to attend bullfights and street fairs. Mesilla had cock pits, billiard halls, theaters, and even bowling alleys for the entertainment of visitors. There was a flour mill and stores with supplies for the farmers who tilled the rich irrigated farms in the Mesilla Valley.

Griggs cited one firm that sent eighty- three wagons from Kansas City to Mesilla, each loaded with 5,000 pounds of merchandise. That firm paid \$30,000 in freight bills on a wagon train containing \$126,000 worth of goods which sold within three weeks at a profit of \$51,000.

Mesilla's eminence faded in 1881 when the Santa Fe Railroad was routed through Las Cruces instead of Mesilla.

Doña Ana Paraje

Doña Ana, New Mexico NATIONAL REGISTER Era: 18th and 19th Century

Significance: One of the noted parajes of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the name also attached to a section of the Río Grande, to nearby mountains, and to a settlement that still exists. Pedro Tamarón y Romeral, Bishop of Durango, author of Demostración del vastísimo obispado de la Nueva Vizcaya (1765), visited this site in his inspection of churches and missions in Chihuahua and New Mexico in 1760.

Annotated History: On II May 1760 Bishop Tamarón described Doña Ana as the sierra on the east side of the river. He camped between Doña Ana and the river (Adams 1953:199).

Lafora described a place between mountain ranges, which he labeled Doña Ana, to the east, and Roblerito, across the river to the west. The name Doña Ana is given elsewhere as the name of a ranchería (Alessio Robles 1939:91).

In August 1846, Wislizenus mentioned that "Doñana" was the first town reached south of the Jornada del Muerto. He said that it was 12 miles south of Robledo but did not describe it as he passed through (Wislizenus 1848:39). On 23 December 1846, Gibson arrived in Doña Ana after what he estimated was a ten-mile trip from Robledo (Bieber 1935:298). In early November 1847, Philip Gooch Ferguson, with an army unit, noted that he camped a mile below the town of Doña Ana (Bieber 1936:337-338). In 1855, Davis, a U.S. Attorney W.W.H. Davis slept with his stock in Doña Ana's corral since there were no

public accommodations (Davis 1938:210-211). According to Julyan, the original 1839 town site was on a hill north of the present village (Julyan 1996:112-113).

The western boundary of the Doña Ana Grant was determined to be the bed of the Río Grande as it ran before the flood of 1864. The northeastern corner of the grant was the head of the old Doña Ana Acequia, "about three miles above the pueblo of Doña Ana at a point where the Río Grande touches the hills on the East; the R.R. track is near the point." It is not entirely clear what the bed of the river was above that point but it evidently came from the west. In testimony related to determining that boundary, Ancón de Doña Ana was described in terms of how the river ran in 1852. At the head of the Doña Ana and Las Cruces Acequia, "the Río Grande makes a bend leaving the foothills on the Eastern bank of said river and bearing Southwestwardly and nearing the foothills on the western bank of said river and continues near the western foot hills of said western bank until it reaches the 'barrancas del brazito' before mentioned, which place was formerly the head of the acequia of Don Juan Antonio Garcia" (or Bracito). The latter point was the boundary of the Doña Ana and Bracito grants and the location of El Bracito (Doña Ana Grant:170;224;passim). In his "Plano del Rio del Norte" (1773), Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco depicted Doña Ana at the northern bend of the two eastward points on the river that defined the Ancón de Doña Ana before the flood of 1864 (Adams and Chávez 1956:268).

Given the descriptions of the old river, Miera y Pacheco's map, and the first locations of the town, it appears that the point originally called Doña Ana was the northern bend of the Ancón de Doña Ana. Unfortunately, we have no distance estimates from the colonial period with which to place Doña Ana relative to other parajes. However, the name is also mentioned in reference to the proximity of mountains to the river and at the suggested place the mountains do approach the river and road. The sketchy estimates given in the 1840s conform to the relationship of that point to Robledo and Bracito. It is reasonable to suggest that the area was popular because travelers could reach the river without descending into the sandy and brambly

flood plain as they would for many miles to the south. The paraje of Doña Ana, such as it was, probably took in a larger area.

Fort Selden State Monument

Radium Springs NATIONAL REGISTER Era: 19th Century

Situated on a slight rise overlooking the Río Grande at the lower end of the Jornada del Muerto, Fort Selden (1865-90) protected settlers in the Mesilla Valley and travelers on the Camino Real. The garrison, frequently harassed by Indians, took part in the campaigns against the Apaches until the fort's inactivation in 1877. In 1880, during the campaign against Geronimo, troops reoccupied it as a base to patrol the Mexican border. After Geronimo's surrender, it was abandoned for good in 1890.

Capt. Arthur MacArthur served at Fort Selden in 1884. It was there that his son, Douglas A. MacArthur, learned to ride and shoot before he learned to read or write.

Eroding adobe walls of some 25 buildings stand as high as 10 feet or more. A New Mexico historical marker on U.S. 85, from which the fort is visible, provides a brief sketch of its history.

Robledillo, Robledo

Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th Century

Significance: One of the enduring and popular *parajes*. Its importance stemmed from its easy access to water, forage, and wood, and its proximity to the Jornada del Muerto.

Annotated History: Between 14 May and 21 May 1598 the Juan de Oñate expedition traveled about four leagues after passing the Organ mountains. The road was very primitive, and the train had to be divided. On the 21st they buried Pedro Robledo but did not refer to the burial site as Robledillo (Pacheco, Cárdenas y Torres 1871:XVI.246-247). According to Marshall and Walt, the site was called "La Cruz de Robledo" after the burial place of Robledo (Marshall and Walt 1984:235).

In November 1681, while marching north, Otermín mentioned that it was 32 leagues from Robledo to the next permanent water. He made stops at *parajes* which he called Robledo and Robledo el Chico, one league apart, on the first and second of February, 1682 (Hackett and Shelby 1942:II.202; II.365). It is likely that others referred to the area containing both sites as part of the same *paraje*.

Vargas estimated the distance from Ancón de Fray García to Robledo at 24 leagues, placing it 29 leagues from El Paso (Kessell and Hendricks 1992:369).

On 23 May 1726 Rivera left La Ranchería and traveled seven leagues northwest through land with some small hills, glades and mesquite thickets, then stayed at a *paraje* called Robledillo (Alessio Robles 1946:49).

On II May 17, 1760 Bishop Tamarón reached the "dread site" of Robledo. The river flowed between two sierras; the one on the west he called Robledo, and the one on the east Doña Ana. He camped between Doña Ana and the river and described the place as frightening because of attacks by "infidel" Indians, although he didn't personally experience any attacks (Adams 1953:199).

On 8 August 1766, Lafora named "Ancón de Roblerito" as a campsite on the bank of the Río Grande. It was also called "Robles" and "Paraje de Robledillo." Lafora placed this point nine leagues from Bracitos and 29 leagues upriver of his crossing near "Presidio del Paso." It was in a hilly area with brush that was thicker than it had previously been and between mountain ranges which he labeled Doña Ana, to the east, and Roblerito, across the river to the west (Alessio Robles 1939:91).

Josiah Gregg gave little description of his 1833 crossing of the Jornada del Muerto but did note that he was grateful to reach "Robledo" on the river, with its abundance of water and wood (Gregg 1933:260). The caravan carrying Wislizenus "at last" arrived at the river after their crossing of the Jornada del Muerto on 5 August 1846. Although Wislizenus wrote that the coun-

try was mountainous and described the mountains to the east, calling them the "Organon," or Organ Mountains, they were well known as such, for Antonio Otermín had named them "Los Organos" in 1680. Wislizenus also noted that "Doñana," which was the first town south of the Jornada, was 12 miles to the south (Wislizenus 1848:39). Gibson, having stopped at San Diego, was less anxious to reach "Robledo" on 22 December 1846, but he did note that it was the end of the Jornada and next to the river. He thought it fourteen miles from San Diego and ten from Doña Ana. He described a wide valley with plenty of wood and grass (Bieber 1935:297).

Fort Selden was established in the same area, in part to protect the entrance of the Camino Real into the Jornada del Muerto, in 1865 and operated intermittently until 1889 (Frazer 1965:103). The *paraje* of Robledillo or Robledo was not an exact point on the Río Grande. It was the wide valley, well supplied with forage and wood, adjacent to the dry, barren, Jornada del Muerto, and stretched along and away from the river.

Turney states that the trail across the Jornada north from Fort Selden is marked by a line of mesquite bushes sewn by oxen who were fed on mesquite beans that were often passed without being well digested (Turney 1996:181).

Paraje del Perrillo

Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th Century

Significance: The water source and hills of this name were noted by many travelers from Oñate through the nineteenth century.

Annotated History: On 23 May 1598 the Oñate expedition traveled about four leagues, doing poorly because of the lack of water. They were traveling five or six leagues east of the Río Grande. After one of their dogs returned with muddy paws, they searched for some water holes. Captain Gaspar Pérez de Villagrá and Cristóbal Sánchez each found one, not far away in the direction of the river (Pacheco, Cárdenas y Torres 1871:XVI, 247-248).

In 1680, Otermín mentioned stops at El Perrillo but gave no descriptions or details of distances traveled (Hackett and Shelby 1942:II, 202;II, 365). On the evening of 27 August 1692, Vargas stopped at El Perrillo, but gave no distance from San Diego or Las Peñuelas (Kessell and Hendricks 1992:371). Rivera left San Diego on 25 May 1726 and traveled north-northwest through flat land, passing the Cerros de Perrillo to the east after six leagues (Alessio Robles 1946:49).

On 9 August 1766, Lafora referred to a campsite and to a nearby mountain range as simply "Perrillo." After traveling ten leagues from Robledillo, he camped near pools of rainwater identifing the mountains to the east as the Organ range and to the west as the Sierras del Perrillo and del Muerto. He described the Río Grande as running through a canyon beyond the mountains to the west (Alessio Robles 1939:92).

Wislizenus called this spring "Barilla" (likely a corruption of Perrillo which Gibson below calls "Perrilla") when his party stopped there on 3 August 1846. They had been at a spring to the north, probably El Alemán, which they found dry and then had pushed on 20 miles until they found sufficient amounts of stagnant water to provide for their stock there. Wislizenus observed that spurs from the mountains to the east approached the area and that the soil was more solid than it had been to the north (Wislizenus 1848:39).

Gibson gave the name "perilla" to "an isolated mountain in the valley, which here expands, giving the appearance of two valleys." He also observed that the road veered to the right at this point and was not as flat as it had been. He made it ten miles from El Alemán and ten from San Diego (Bieber 1935:296-297). The Baptist missionary Hiram Read wrote that the "Ponds of Perillo," which he translated as "Ponds of Peril," were three miles south of the Point of Rocks and 22 miles from Robledo (Bloom 1942:136).

The spur, hills, or mountains mentioned by the chronicles conform to the Point of Rocks formation. Oñate reported that the pools (*aguajes*) found by Villagrá and Cristóbal Sánchez were

toward the river. Upside Down Tank and Alivio are both to the west of, or toward the river from, the Point of Rocks formation. The road and rail line veer to the right, à la Gibson's description of the road, a little further north at Upham; however, the places mentioned are more likely matches for their nearness to the Point of Rocks and distance from Alemán and San Diego. Read seems to have been at Rincon Arroyo, on which maps show a small pond at about the right place. Point of Rocks Tank, south of Point of Rocks, is also a possibility.

Paraje del Alemán

Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th Century

Significance: The name Alemán (The German) resulted, vicariously, from a seventeenth- century inquisition case involving the German trader from Sonora, Bernardo Gruber, and remained attached to a nineteenth century stage stop and post office. A ranch maintains the name "Aleman" into the twentieth century and beyond.

Annotated History: The name is thought to refer to Bernardo Gruber, a German trader from Sonora who became a target of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in New Mexico in 1668. Gruber was a prisoner for nearly two years before he made his escape, on June 22, 1670, with the aid of his Apache servant, Atanasio. Atanasio later reported that he and Gruber had passed Senecú and Fray Cristóbal and made it through the "hot wasteland" to Las Peñuelas, which was dry. Atanasio went south to San Diego in search of water and returned two days later to find Gruber gone. Atanasio speculated that Gruber had taken one horse and gone south on the Camino Real, though Atanasio himself had been on that stretch of road and had not seen Gruber. Atanasio tried unsuccessfully to locate Gruber and then decided to surrender and report the incident at Senecú. Search parties were sent out in vain. Soon, however, remains that were thought to be Gruber's were found by accident at a point which would later be called Alemán. The discoverers related that they had found Gruber's remains while traveling between Las Peñuelas and El Perrillo, or south of Peñuelas.

Later it was said that Atanasio murdered Gruber. Gruber's ordeal is also thought to have inspired the name Jornada del Muerto (Sánchez 1996:97-104). This is the only time that Las Peñuelas and Alemán can be found in the same account. A comparison of distance estimates given for Alemán and Las Peñuelas suggests that the former may have supplanted the latter in the lore of the Jornada.

On 10 August 1766, Lafora passed by el *paraje* del Alemán, six leagues north of El Perrillo and eight south of Laguna del Muerto, in the Jornada del Muerto of New Mexico. He found the pools, which often gathered rainwater, dry (Alessio Robles 1939:92-93).

"Alamos" was the name used by Wislizenus to describe what was, on 3 August 1846, a dry pool, some 20 miles north of *Paraje* del Perrillo and sixteen miles south of Laguna del Muerto. He camped four miles south on a grassy hill (Wislizenus 1848:39). On 20 December 1846, Gibson arrived at El Alemán, fourteen miles from Laguna del Muerto and ten from El Perrillo (Bieber 1935:296-297). In September 1851, Hiram Read arrived at "Alaman," which he thought to be 40 miles from Fray Cristóbal over a road as good as if it were "McAdamized", or paved (Bloom 1942:136).

Later in the nineteenth century, the name Aleman was continued in a stage stop, post office, and ranch. The name Martin's Well was given to the same site after John Martin, who dug a well and operated an inn at *Paraje* del Alemán (Julyan 1996:12; Cohrs 1974 (Unpublished MS); Marshall and Walt 1984:242).

Las Peñuelas

Era: 18th Century

Significance: A place name well known in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, it may have referred to a site later called by other names.

Annotated History: On 24 May 1598, the Oñate expedition traveled four leagues north of the *Paraje* del Perrillo without any water. They finally came to some small pools next to *Piedras*

de Afilar where they drank and rested. They took their horses to the river, more than six leagues off to their left, where it was extremely hilly and very rough (Pacheco, Cárdenas y Torres 1871:XVI, 248-249). Marshall and Walt place Oñate at Las Peñuelas on this day (Marshall and Walt 1984:237). The association of Oñate's camp with Peñuelas, or with Alemán, is reasonable. Through the rest of the Jornada del Muerto, Oñate's journal becomes confused. It appears that there is data missing from it, making any conclusions based upon that source hazardous.

Vargas went from El Perrillo to Las Peñuelas on 28 August 1692, but did not estimate the distance of his journey. He did note that it was six leagues from Las Peñuelas to El Muerto (Kessell and Hendricks 1992:371).

On 25 May 1726 Rivera left San Diego and traveled eleven leagues north- northwest through flat land, leaving the hills called "el Perilloto" the east, and stopped at an uninhabited *paraje*, with no water or fire- wood, called Las Peñuelas (Alessio Robles 1946:49).

Julyan identifies Las Peñuelas as Point of Rocks (Julyan 1996:199). Such an association is obvious on the basis of the name alone. However, chroniclers who visited both the hills and water source of Perrillo and Peñuelas noted considerable, and variant, distances between the two. A comparison of distance estimates suggests that Peñuelas and Alemán (below) were the same, or at least were very near one another. Perhaps the rocks in the name and in Oñate's description of his camp of 24 May refer to Prisor Hill. It is by Aleman Draw and has a well marked on its western flank; however, at about 2 leagues southeast of the modern locale of Aleman it may be too far off the track. Black Hill is further north and a little west. In pinpointing any of these *parajes* the relationships between them must be considered.

Laguna del Muerto

Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th Century

Significance: This seasonal water source was a consistent camp from at least 1692 and well into the nineteenth century. Even when dry, this was

an important camp as a base for water runs to Ojo del Muerto.

Annotated History: Vargas reported that he went six leagues from Las Peñuelas to El Muerto, or *Paraje* del Muerto, on 29 August 1692 (Kessell and Hendricks 1992:372-373).

On 26 May 1726 Rivera left Las Peñuelas and traveled six leagues before stopping along the road. Because there was no water or wood it was decided to lead the horses to the Laguna del Muerto with a large escort because of the numbers of hostile Indians that inhabited the area (Alessio Robles 1946:49-50). It seems clear that Rivera's party actually stopped in the area known as Laguna del Muerto and then sent the horses to Ojo del Muerto, a place known for the danger of hostilities.

Lafora camped at the Laguna del Muerto on 10 August 1766 although it was dry. He reported that it was 14 leagues north of Perrillo, eight north of Alemán, and ten leagues to the southeast of the *Paraje* de Fray Cristóbal at the north end of the Jornada del Muerto of New Mexico (Alessio Robles 1939:93).

In 1833 Josiah Gregg found Laguna del Muerto dry. He described it as "a sink in the plain of a few rods in diameter, and only filled with water during the rainy season." He thought it five or six miles to Ojo del Muerto (Gregg 1933:259).

On 2 August 1846, Wislizenus found this lakebed dry, so his party went to water their animals at the nearby Ojo del Muerto. He put Laguna del Muerto 22 miles from Fray Cristóbal and 16 from "Alamos" (Wislizenus 1848:38). In the same year in December, Gibson's party had the same experience. He wrote that it was 14 miles from El Alemán and 26 miles from Fray Cristóbal (Bieber 1935:296).

Cedar Lake, Engle Lake, and a small, unnamed lake north of Engle Lake match the various distance estimates given for Laguna del Muerto. All that is certain is that it was a basin that periodically held water and was east of Ojo del Muerto and the later site of Fort McRae.

Fray Cristóbal

Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th Century

Significance: Named for a member of the Oñate entrada, the Paraje de Fray Cristóbal remained important throughout the period in which the Camino Real was in use. Oñate's men facetiously remarked that the outline of the ridge of the mountain near present Elephant Butte Reservoir looked like the profile of Fray Cristóbal, saying he was "feisimo" (politely, not very good looking). It was described as a general area rather than a particular point but can be defined by its proximity to both the Río Grande and the Jornada del Muerto. In the nineteenth century, Fray Cristóbal became Fra Cristobal, as a modern local spelling and pronunciation without a "y" in Fray and without an accent in Cristóbal.

Annotated History: Otermín placed Fray Cristóbal 60 leagues from Santa Fé, 32 leagues from Robledo, which he gave as the beginning of the dry jornada, and seven from La Cruz de Anaya (Hackett and Shelby 1942:II, 202;II, 365;II.397). Vargas reached Fray Cristóbal traveling north on 30 August 1692. He noted that it was 32 leagues from San Diego and 65 from El Paso (Kessell and Hendricks 1992:371-373).

El *Paraje* de Fray Cristóbal marked the northern terminus of the Jornada del Muerto of New Mexico. On 27 May 1726 Rivera traveled northnorthwest eleven leagues, passing the Sierra de San Cristóbal, and stayed at a paraje called Fray Cristóbal, located on the bank of the Río Grande (Alessio Robles 1946:50).

On II August 1766, Lafora recounted camping there on the bank of the Río Grande five leagues north of the northern end of the Sierra de San Cristóbal (Alessio Robles 1939:93). On 22 November 1780 Anza left Valverde and traveled five leagues south to "Fray Cristoval" (Thomas 1932:199).

In 1895, Coues characterized this as an area more than a specific point (Coues 1895:II, 635-636). Josiah Gregg gave a short description of Fray Cristóbal in 1833 that defines the Spanish *paraje* from the Anglo-American point of view.

He wrote that it, "like many others on the route, is neither town nor village, but a simple isolated point on the river- bank - a mere *paraje*, or camping- ground" (Gregg 1933:258).

In August of 1846, Wislizenus understood this title to refer to the last camping place before entering the Jornada del Muerto heading south rather than a particular site. His caravan camped two miles from the Río Grande but he noted that others stayed nearer or further and that there were no buildings with which to identify the name (Wislizenus 1848:38).

In 1851, Reverend Read described a grove of timber where all travelers "halt to feed, rest and obtain a supply of wood and water before entering the Jornada" (Bloom 1942:135). When Davis passed through Fray Cristóbal in 1855, there was still no settlement of any kind (Davis 1938:208-209).

A town called *Paraje*, or Fra Cristobal, founded at about the same site in the late 1850s, survived into the first decades of the twentieth century. A twin town, Canta Recio, was settled directly across the river in the 1870s (Boyd 1986:86). Boyd places the town of Paraje eight miles down river from Fort Craig. During the Civil War, Colonel Edward Canby estimated it at seven miles (Boyd 1986:60, 70-71). Marshall and Walt note that the site of *Paraje*, designated LA 1124, is south of *Paraje* Well (Marshall and Walt 1984:293). The ruins of *Paraje* lie within the flood basin of Elephant Butte Reservoir. Although it has seldom been completely under water the reservoir contributed to erosion of the town. Boyd writes that during the twentieth century the Río Grande meandered eastward to erode the western portion of the town's ruins (Boyd 1986:110). According to John P. Wilson, the location of the earliest signs of settlement were found by a surveyor in 1857 at the line between Sections 31 and 6 in Townships 8 and 9 South, Range 2 West (Wilson 1985:32). A 1908 Bureau of Reclamation map in Boyd confirms that location (Boyd 1986:103).

The small area of the river occupied by *Paraje* and *Paraje* Well would have been the point where caravans left or reached the river before

or after the crossing of the Jornada del Muerto. The "Lava Gate" between lava flows to the northeast and the Fra Cristobal Range to the southwest funneled traffic to the river in that area (Marshall and Walt 1984:241).

A map from the Surveyor General's files of the Pedro Armendaris Grant shows the "old wattering place" (sic) where the "Wagon Road over the Jornada" met the "old bed of the Río Grande." It also has range lines and the town sites of *Paraje* and Canta Recio. It can be used to pinpoint the location where the Camino Real rejoined the river, the focal point of the *paraje* of Fray Cristóbal. However, testimony in that same file notes that there was evidence of several river beds, or meanders, at Fray Cristóbal, "showing that at different times it has had its channel all over the narrow valley which borders the present stream" (Pedro Armendaris Grant #33:108-109,182-183). The paraje also spread along and away from the river at that point.

Fort Craig

New Mexico NATIONAL REGISTER Era: 19th Century

This post's predecessor was Fort Conrad (1851-54), a motley group of adobe and cottonwood huts about 9 miles to the north, also on the west bank of the Río Grande. Troops occupied Fort Conrad while they built Fort Craig (1854-84). The mission of the forts, near the northern end of the Jornada del Muerto, was protecting westbound miners from Navajos and Apaches and guarding the Camino Real. The garrison, almost continuously occupied with defensive actions and patrols, took part in the Navajo and Apache conflicts of the 1850s and in the Apache wars (1861-86). Supported by troop remnants from abandoned posts in Arizona and New Mexico that had marshaled at the fort, it also fought in the nearby Battle of Valverde (February 1862), the first major battle of the Civil War in the Southwest. Fort Craig was deactivated in 1885.

The walls of 17 of Fort Craig's adobe buildings, in varying stages of disintegration, and the stone

guardhouse are visible, as are earth mounds representing Civil War fortifications. The military cemetery is still surrounded by a stone wall but the burials, including those who died at the Battle of Valverde, were moved to Santa Fe in 1876.

El Contadero (Mesa del Contadero, Mesa de Senecú, Mesilla de Guinea, Black Mesa)

Era: 18th and 19th Century

Significance: This landmark mesa boasted *parajes* to both the north and the south, both associated with the name Contadero. One, south of the mesa, has been identified with a Mexican and colonial period archeological site.

Annotated History: Between 26 and 27 May 1598, the Oñate expedition traveled nine leagues from the "Arroyo de los Muertos" or "Arroyo de las Parras" without their carts because it was impossible to proceed with them. On the 27th, they arrived at "Ciénega de Mesilla de Guinea," named this because the mesa was made of black rock (Pacheco, Cárdenas y Torres 1871:XVI.249). It was the same formation that shared the names El Contadero, Senecú, and Black Mesa. Hammond and Rey place the marsh on the east bank of the Río Grande, near San Marcial (Hammond and Rey 1953:I.317). That area was later called Valverde.

Otermín, in 1680, twice mentioned El Contadero without giving details about it (Hackett and Shelby 1942:II, 172,364). On another occasion, however, he described camping at the "place...which they call El Contadero, along the banks of the Río del Norte." The next morning they "crossed the Río del Norte, the pueblo of Senecú being on the other side" (Hackett and Shelby 1942:II, 203).

On 12 August 1766, one league north of Fray Cristóbal, Lafora entered a perilous defile through hills and ravines called "el Contadero." It extended north three leagues, as far as the mesa of Senecú. From the mesa the ruins of the pueblo of the same name could be seen across the river (Alessio Robles 1939:94).

In Miera y Pacheco's map ("Plano del Rio Grande, 1773), two sites are featured: Contadero south of "Mesa de Senecú" and an unnamed *paraje* north of the mesa, perhaps Valverde (Adams and Chávez 1956:268;Marshall and Walt 1984:286).

The 1819 description of the Valverde Grant gave as the southern boundary "a peak or knoll located on the southern edge of the Mesilla del Contadero which is the boundary or terminus of the Valverde Valley and which is at the Fray Cristobal *Paraje*" (Bowden 1969:II.163). El Contadero was noted but not described by Gregg (Gregg 1933:258). Ferguson referred to the "high table-land on the east side of the river called 'Cantadero'(sic)" (Bieber 1936:334).

Gibson camped at Valverde, which he described as very close to a mesa. His description of the mesa as a volcanic table, flat except for one little elevation, with very steep sides, identifies it as Black Mesa. When his unit left Valverde it went six miles around the east of the mesa and to the camp of another unit on the south side. That camp was one half mile from water but had forage and wood. It was nine miles from Fray Cristóbal (Bieber 1935:293-294). An 1872 map of the Pedro Armendaris Grant shows a place labeled Contadero south of the mesa with the same name (Pedro Armendaris Grant #34:28). Marshall and Walt place the paraje south of the mesa. They also note a colonial and Mexican period archeological site, Corrales de Contadero (LA 31735, Río Abajo Site No. 72), that may be associated with the paraje (Marshall and Walt 1984:270,294).

Wilson uses the name Contadero for the pass, the mesa, and the point where the road once more reached the river. He also describes the trail as "the very narrow trail along the western and southern base, between the steep sides of the mesa and the waters of the river" (Wilson 1976:6-7). The term Contadero was used over the centuries to describe Black Mesa itself and its southward extension toward Fray Cristóbal, the defile leading through the southern extension to Black Mesa, and camps on both the south and north sides of the mesa. The latter was later known as Valverde.

Oñate named the "Mesilla de Guinea," a reference to its black color, and the marshes along the river beside it. Lafora referred to the mesa itself as the "mesa de Senecú," from which the ruins of the pueblo of the same name could be seen across the river. Miera y Pacheco used the same name for the mesa itself. By referring to "the southern edge of the Mesilla del Contadero" at "Fray Cristobal *Paraje*," the 1819 description of the Valverde Grant used that name to describe the entire formation of which Black Mesa is the northernmost part.

Lafora described Contadero as the narrow defile leading north to the mesa. The 1773 map of Miera y Pacheco depicted Contadero south of "Mesa de Senecú", as did the Armendaris Grant map. That may have been Gibson's 1846 campground on the south side of the mesa, six miles south of Valverde and nine miles from Fray Cristóbal. Marshall and Walt place the *paraje* south of the mesa and also note an archeological site called Corrales de Contadero in that vicinity

Finally, the only Otermín mention of El Contadero in 1680 that can be located was across from the pueblo of Senecú, at or very near the place later known as Valverde. Miera y Pacheco's map showed an unnamed *paraje* immediately north of the Mesa de Senecú. These both conform to Gibson's 1846 description of a campground near the ruins of Valverde. It was in a grove of trees near the base of Black Mesa and bore traces of earlier campers.

For the purposes of this study, Marshall and Walt's Corrales de Contadero archeological site (LA 31735, Río Abajo Site No. 72) should be considered as the appropriate site for the *paraje* of Contadero. The name Valverde later included the flat on the east bank north of Black Mesa.

Valverde

Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th Century

Significance: This *paraje* was called Contadero during the seventeenth century and Valverde by the late eighteenth century. Regardless of its name it was a natural *paraje* as well as the site of a nineteenth- century town and civil war battle.

Annotated History: Otermín described camping at a point that he called El Contadero. It was on the banks of the river across from the ruins of the pueblo of Senecú (Hackett and Shelby 1942:II.203). That description better fits later descriptions of Valverde and the location of the ruins of the hacienda and town of that name, than do later depictions of El Contadero showing it south of Black Mesa and away from the river. The 1773 map by Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco showed an unnamed *paraje* north of "Mesa de Senecú" which would have been Valverde (Adams and Chávez 1956:268; Marshall and Walt 1984:286).

On 20 November 1780 Anza left the spring of the Apaches, or the "Apache Wood," and traveled four leagues to Valverde, where he noted the tracks of many horses and people crossing the river. His party rested there the next day before going on five leagues to Fray Cristóbal (Thomas 1932:198). During the nineteenth century Valverde was often noted as the site of a good ford. The *paraje* of Valverde next appeared in 1805 in a report on vaccinations (Marshall and Walt 1984:286).

The 1819 description of the Valverde Grant noted that it began at the "Ancon de Valverde" on the east bank of the Río Grande, opposite the mouth of the Arroyo de San Pasqual (Bowden 1969:II, 163). There is now a bend in the river adjacent to the Valverde town site and across from the mouth of Tiffany Canyon. Tiffany Arroyo, a name whose origin is in the twentieth century, is across from and slightly south of the ruin of San Pasqual. In 1832, Valverde was described as the ruins of a hacienda on the outskirts of the settlements of New Mexico at the edge of the desert of the Jornada del Muerto (Carroll and Haggard 1942:78- 80; Julyan 1996:353).

In 1839, Gregg observed the ruins of Valverde and wrote that it had been founded only 20 years earlier, in some of the richest land in New Mexico, and was deserted due to Indian attacks (Gregg 1933:258). On 30 July 1846, Wislizenus wrote of passing the "ruins of Valverde," which he described as "the mud walls of a deserted Mexican village," in an area of sand hills and cottonwood trees within twelve miles to the

south of Luis López's hacienda (Wislizenus 1848:37).

In 1846, Abert identified the river crossing at Valverde and recommended that southbound wagons be taken to the west bank of the Río Grande at Alburquerque and back to the east side at this ford. Abert mentioned and sketched the Mesa overlooking the ruins of Valverde and placed it 15 miles from Fray Cristóbal (Abert 1962:120,125-133). Gibson described his camp near the ruins of Valverde in 1846. It was in a grove of trees near the base of Black Mesa and bore traces of earlier campers. When his unit left Valverde it went six miles around the east side of the mesa to a camp on the south side (Bieber 1935:293-294). Depictions of the Civil War Battle of Valverde confirm that the entire battle took place in the shadow of the Mesa del Contadero (Alberts 1984:42; Hall 1960:84,97).

The *paraje* north of Mesa de Contadero variously called Contadero or Valverde probably spread along the riverbank and filled the space between the river sand the edge of the hills. Accounts of the Battle of Valverde also include an old riverbed on the east side of the valley but still in its bottom (Alberts 1984:42,46; Hall 1960:84,97). Depending upon the age of that bed, or the possibility that the river bed has changed regularly over the last several centuries, it could be that the segment of the paraje which experienced the heaviest use is much closer to the hills than to the existing river bed.

Luis Lopez

Era: 19th Century

Significance: The seventeenth- century estancia that belonged to Luis López bequeathed its name to the region and it was attached to this Mexican era community. It was noted by nineteenth- century travelers who used the road on the west bank of the river.

Annotated History: The Mexican period community of Luis López first appears in a list of New Mexico settlements compiled by Manuel Armijo in 1840 (Carroll and Haggard 1942:93; Marshall and Walt 1984:278).

On 29 July 1846, Wislizenus mentioned a small town named Lopez; on his map he marked it L. Lopez. He commented that the mountains came closer to the river there and that this area contained the last settlements before the Jornada del Muerto (Wislizenus 1848:37).

In December 1846, George Rutledge Gibson and Doniphan's army camped at Luis López on the west bank of the Río Grande. They forced residents to sell them needed supplies (Bieber 1935:291).

Marshall and Walt place the Mexican era settlement of Luis Lopez (LA31748) just east of the present village of the same name (Marshall and Walt 1984:277-278).

Teypana, Teypama Piro Pueblo

New Mexico NATIONAL REGISTER Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th Century

Teypana or Teypama Piro Pueblo is a prehistoric/ contact period pueblo. This would be a great place to interpret pre- contact people on what would become the Camino Real. The Piro village name "Teypama" appears only in the records of the Onate Expedition (Hammond and Rey 1953:318 and 346). We find in the June 1598 itinerary (No. 1) that the pueblo of "Teypana" was also called "Socorro." The name Socorro (aid, assistance, or relief) was applied to the village since the inhabitants had furnished the Oñate Colony with a supply of corn and, as Vetancurt described in 1698, "a la venida de los carros antes de la fundacion de Guadalupe se les llevaba socorro de pan, y otras cosas a los caminantes" (Vetancurt 1961: 266). (See Marsahll and Walt, p. 250).

Marshall & Walt, p 250

Town of Socorro Plaza

Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th Century

Socorro has been steeped in New Mexico history since Don Juan de Oñate stopped off during his entrada on June 14, 1598. The site was then occupied by Pilabo, the northernmost Piro Indian pueblo; the Oñate documents called it

"Piloque." Oñate was in advance of the main body of colonists. The caravan, still struggling through the desert behind him, was in desperate need of provisions. Of the Piro Indians, Oñate said, they "gave us much corn." The pueblo was renamed Socorro (succor, help) to commemorate the gift.

While Oñate continued north, two priests remained behind to do missionary work among the Indians. Fray Alfonso was so successful that he became known as "The Apostle of Socorro." The two priests built a modest church, to be replaced by a larger structure between 1615 and 1626. Here Fray Zuñiga and Fray Antonio de Arteaga planted the first grapes to be raised in New Mexico.

In late 1681, after the Pueblo Revolt, Governor Don Antonio de Otermin returned to the north in a half- hearted attempt at reconquest. He reached Socorro in November and found the community abandoned and the church profaned. He burned what supplies and provisions were left to keep them from falling into the hands of rebel Indians. He was unsuccessful in negotiating peace. The Indians had "returned to idolatry" and were unwilling to accept the resumption of Spanish rule. On January 2, 1682, Otermin gave up his attempt to reassert Spanish rule and started back toward El Paso.

Ten years later, on August 21, 1692, Don Diego de Vargas set out from El Paso for the reconquest of New Mexico. His force consisted of sixty Spaniards and a hundred friendly Indians. Within four months de Vargas restored twenty-three pueblos to Spain's empire. By September, 1693, de Vargas was back in El Paso gathering an expedition for resettlement. He was not as lucky this time; his force met with resistance. The battle to occupy Santa Fe was short, but it took most of 1694 to subdue the remainder of the pueblos.

During the recolonization, the former residents of Socorro did not return. Except for travelers and caravans on the Camino Real, Socorro was deserted and dormant until 1816 when the Spanish Crown awarded land to twenty- one families by the Socorro Grant.

The settlers depended upon agriculture and raising cattle and sheep. They settled on the hill-side and valley floor, irrigating their crops from mountain springs and the Río Grande. There were fields of wheat and corn, vineyards and orchards, and pastures. As protection from the Apaches, they built adobe houses facing a central courtyard.

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century, life in Socorro settled into a leisurely if not lazy agrarian pattern, punctuated by occasional Apache raids and the arrival of travelers on the old Camino Real, now usually called the Chihuahua Road by the Santa Fe traders. Socorro was the last stop before or the first stop after crossing the Jornada del Muerto, and the residents learned to profit from their position.

The 1850s brought changes. Fort Craig was built some twenty miles to the south, and Socorro became an "army town," a trading center and rendezvous for officers and men from the fort. After the Civil War erupted, freighting and storing supplies created a bustle that completely transformed the village.

Lemitar

Era: 19th Century

Significance: Lemitar was built on the west bank variant of the Camino Real in the nineteenth century.

Annotated History: Although Lemitar does not appear on any Mexican period lists of settlements it apparently came into existence in 1831. The present church, completed by 1835, had its first burial in its camposanto shortly afterwards. The plaza was located to the east of the church and the road probably ran through the plaza (Scurlock 1982:7; Marshall and Walt 1984:277).

In November 1846 James William Abert observed Lemitar across the river from his camp on the east bank. He included it on his map of the region (Abert 1962:119,frontispiece). George Rutledge Gibson, in Doniphan's army traveling down the west bank in December 1846, camped

at "Limitar" (Bieber 1935:290-291). The missionary Read dined with ex- governor Manuel Armijo in "Limita" in 1851. Read described a "thriving town of some 300 souls...in a most beautiful portion of the valley" (Bloom 1942:134-135). W.W.H. Davis crossed the Río Grande from east to west near "Limitar" in 1855. His party continued into Lemitar and lunched at the home of the late governor, Manuel Armijo (Davis 1938:202).

Sabino

Era: 19th century.

Significance: The name predates the building of this nineteenth-century town, near the ruins of the seventeenth-century pueblo of Alamillo.

Annotated History: In a 1782 description attributed to Fray Juan Agustín de Morfi, there is mention of a deserted rancho named "Savina" in this area (Thomas 1932:102). "Sabinal," between Belén and Socorro, was listed in reports of 1827, 1831, 1833, and 1840. It was variously recorded as a pueblo, alcaldía, and plaza (Carroll and Haggard 1942:47-49,88,93; Bloom 1913:15)

Wislizenus, heading south, reported passing "through the town Sabino," on the east side of the river, on the morning of 26 July 1846 after camping at La Joya. He noted that large yucca as well as mesquite became more common there than they had been further north (Wislizenus 1848:36). Abert noted that the citizens of Sabino had been fighting with the Navajo in 1846 (Abert 1962:119).

The ruins of Sabino are shown on a 1906 USGS map, across the river from, and about 750 yards north of, Lemitar (Scurlock 1982:8). It has been identified as LA 8870 (Marshall and Walt 1984:306).

Alamillo pueblo

Era: 17th and 18th Century

Significance: The mission-pueblo ruins of Alamillo marked a nearby *paraje* long after the pueblo was deserted. The most significant event that occurred at Alamillo took place when

Governor Bernardo Lopez de Mendizabal, during his inspection of New Mexico, investigated the ninety-year- old Father Alonso de Peinado, the resident missionary, in 1659 and humiliated him before the Indian pueblo. Soon after, Lopez ordered that the Alamillo mission Indians be moved back to Sevilletta, their native land.

Annotated History: The Piro pueblos of El Hosso (or El Oso) and La Pedrosa were mentioned together in Hernan Gallegos's account of the Sánchez Chamuscado entrada of 1581. Both were located on the east bank of the Río Grande, evidently in the area of Alamillo, New Mexico (Mecham 1926:275; Hammond and Rey 1927:45). It is possible that they conform to Alamillo and Acomilla.

In 1692, Vetancurt wrote of the church dedicated to Santa Ana three leagues from Socorro. He mentioned that the people lived on fish gathered from the Río Grande. The pueblo was burned in 1680 (Vetancurt 1961:266).

In October 1681 it was reported that the Piro pueblos of Alamillo, Sevilleta, and Socorro had been deserted after the revolt (Hackett and Shelby 1942:II.168). On 30 November 1681, Otermín marched north from Socorro through La Vuelta de Socorro to the Pueblo of Alamillo. He described its setting as in a plain on the banks of the Río Grande. Otermín's company camped beside the pueblo and then went on to Sevilleta. Returning south in January 1682, Otermín reported that he went from Sevilleta through Las Vueltas de Acomilla, over the "hill of Acomilla" and down into the pueblo of Alamillo. They stayed there two days to wait out inclement weather and then continued south (Hackett and Shelby 1942:II,206,II, 363).

Vargas stopped at the abandoned pueblo of Alamillo on 3 September 1692 after a march of five leagues from Socorro. The road was bad enough that he has trouble with his wagons. It was six or seven leagues to the abandoned hacienda of Felipe Romero, north of Sevilleta, the next day (Kessell and Hendricks 1992:374).

On 29 May 1726, Rivera traveled north twelve leagues from San Pasqual, through the hills of Acomilla, to Alamillo. He saw several ruins on

the east side of the river, where there had been haciendas de labor before the revolt. He found the pueblo of El Alamillo, located on the east side of the river, and stayed in an uninhabited place near it (Alessio Robles 1946:50).

On 17 May 1760, after seeing the remains of Socorro, Bishop Tamarón stopped at the site of "Alamito" (Adams 1953:201). Lafora saw ruins when he camped nearby on 13 August 1766. He located it four leagues to the south of the ruins of the pueblo of Sevilleta by a rough road (Alessio Robles 1939:95). On 17 November 1780 Anza left the Vueltas de Romero and traveled five leagues south to the region of Alamillo (Thomas 1932:198). The Vueltas de Romero are featured in Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco's map of 1779.

Despite the long- lived notoriety of Alamillo its location is now a mystery. Marshall and Walt write that they are certain that it was south of Alamillo Arroyo and north of Pueblito and speculate that it was probably very near the later town of Sabino. They conclude that its proximity to the river may have caused traces of it to be destroyed by floods (Marshall and Walt 1984:255).

La Joya de Sevilleta

New Mexico

Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th century

Significance: The modern town of La Joya was founded as a frontier outpost for protection of the Camino Real adjacent to the site of a seventeenth- century Piro pueblo. The village of La Joya de Sevilleta marks the lower end of Rio Abajo. For a time it was where caravans would gather and await the rest of the caravan and/or presidial troops who would escort them down the trail. The church and possibly the plaza, along with some ruins of structures, remain of this important village.

Annotated History: In his account of the Sánchez Chamuscado entrada, Gallegos named the two northernmost Piro pueblos in New Mexico Ponsitlan and Pueblo Nuevo. The latter was still being built at that time. They were both

on the east side of the Río Grande and one may have been Sevilleta, later the northern border of the Piro nation (Mecham 1926:275;Hammond and Rey 1927:46).

On 15 June 1598 the Oñate expedition traveled seven leagues from Socorro to the little pueblo which they named Nueva Sevilla. They thought it necessary to take refuge in the houses of the pueblo in case the Indians of the area decided to attack and made this the first pueblo in which they camped. They staved there until 21 June. Between 15 June and 22 June 1598 the Maese de Campo, Juan de Zaldivar, and Sargeanto Mayor, Vicente de Zaldivar, visited "the pueblos of Abo" (Pacheco, Cárdenas y Torres 1871:XVI, 251-252). Nueva Sevilla also came to be known as Sevilleta, so named because of its resemblance to Seville, Spain. It was located on the east bank of the Río Grande, about 20 miles north of Socorro (Hammond and Rey:1953:I, 318). Vetancurt wrote that it received its name due to its large Piro population. In 1692, Vetancurt said that this pueblo was five leagues from Alamillo. Sevilleta had been razed before that time (Vetancurt 1961:266).

In 1634, Fray Benavides reported that the Piro pueblo of Sevilleta boasted a convent and Indians who lived Christian lives. He wrote that when he arrived in New Mexico at the beginning of 1626, Sevilleta was burned and in ruins due to warfare with other Indians, likely the Apache. During the tenure of Benavides as Custodian of New Mexico, the pueblo was rebuilt and resettled and the convent erected and dedicated to San Luis Obispo. Benavides also used the name "Seelocú," evidently the Piro name for Sevilleta (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:63-64,252-253). Governor Juan Manso de Contreras moved the inhabitants of Sevilleta to the pueblo of Alamillo during the 1650s. The next governor, Bernardo López de Mendizábal, returned them in 1659 despite protests by the Franciscans in the area (Primera Audiencia de don Bernardo López de Mendizábal, 1663; Scholes 1942:29).

When Maestro de Campo Alonso García retreated down the river in August 1680 the natives of Sevilleta went south with him. It was

later reported that Sevilleta was left deserted along with the other Piro pueblos of Alamillo and Socorro (Hackett and Shelby 1942:I, 70,II, 168). Otermín passed Sevilleta in January 1682 as he retreated to the south after his brief return to New Mexico (Hackett and Shelby 1942:II, 363). Vargas left the abandoned pueblo of Alamillo on 3 September 1692 and went north to the abandoned pueblo of Sevilleta. He continued on to the estancia that had belonged to Felipe Romero to find pasture for his mounts, a distance of six or seven leagues from Alamillo (Kessell and Hendricks 1992:375).

On 30 May 1726, Rivera left El Alamillo and traveled north- northeast through flat land dotted with hills, ravines and thickets and came to the ruins of a pueblo called Sevilleta, located on the east side of the river (Alessio Robles 1946:50-51). On 18 May 1760, after stopping at "Alamito," Bishop Tamarón came to the site where the pueblo of Sevilleta stood, and a little beyond it the ruined estancia of Felipe Romero. Tamarón wrote that both were "lost with the kingdom" (Adams 1953:201). Lafora viewed the ruins of Sevilleta when he passed through on 14 August 1766. He placed it across from the mouth of the Río Puerco in an area of steep hills (Alessio Robles 1939:95).

After the visit of Lafora, the area was resettled as the town of La Joya. In the 1790s landless families from Taos, Las Vegas, and Mora who had experience fighting Indians were moved there to provide protection for caravans to and from Mexico. An 1819 land grant to 67 individuals confirmed their defensive responsibilities (Taylor and Diaboli 1937:20).

On 10 March 1807, Zebulon Montgomary Pike described "Sibilleta" as "the neatest most regular village I have yet seen." It was a square, with a mud wall facing the outside and the windows and doors pointing inward toward the plaza. He thought the population to be 1000. This was the last village Pike stayed in before entering "the wilderness" on his trip to Mexico as a Spanish prisoner and he noted that caravans gathered there before heading south (Coues 1895:II, 628-632). In 1812, Pedro Bautista Pino explained that the hazards of the journey to Chihuahua made it

necessary for travelers to gather at "Joya de Sevilleta" in sufficient numbers to ensure their safety during the trip south. He also noted it as "Sevilleta," a frontier post in which seven soldiers were stationed (Carroll and Haggard 1942:106,69).

Wislizenus simply called it "Joya, another small town" when he went through on 25 July 1846. His map shows the road continuing straight south as the river curved to the west (Wislizenus 1848:36). In September 1851, Baptist missionary Hiram Read arrived at "La Jolla, (La Hoyah - The Hole)," and found that he had to stay with "a Mexican, there being no American in town" (Bloom 1942:134). In 1855, Davis described "La Hoya" as a town of 400 a few hundred yards from the east bank of the Río Grande (Davis 1938:201).

The modern town of La Joya is apparently just below the ruins of Sevilleta (Marshall and Walt 1984:247).

Nancy Hunter Warren, Villages of Hispanic New Mexico. School of American Research, 1987.

Marta Weigle, Hispanic Villages of Northern New Mexico, Part II, Bibliography. Santa Fe: The Lightning Tree, 1973.

Las Nutrias

Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th century

Significance: The name Las Nutrias appears in the seventeenth century. It was later the center of an attempt to found a land grant community and remains attached to a modern community.

Annotated History: In 1680, Maestro de Campo Alonso García, commander of the Río Abajo, met Governor Antonio de Otermín and the refugees from Santa Fé at Las Nutrias (Hackett and Shelby 1942:I, 104,II, 168,172,174-175). When Otermín led his party and many Indian refugees south from Isleta toward El Paso on the east side of the Río Grande early in 1682, he recorded his route past "La Vega de las

Nutrias" among other places (Hackett and Shelby 1942:II, 362; Hackett 1915:391).

On 30 May 1726 Rivera traveled north then northeast from Sevilleta through flat land dotted with hills, glades and thickets. He passed some arroyos without water after the ruins of Sevilleta and stayed at a *paraje* on the bank of the Río Grande called Las Nutrias. He estimated that he went eight leagues from El Alamillo to Las Nutrias (Alessio Robles 1946:50-51). When Lafora was there on 14 August 1766, he described it as a recently formed town of 30 families, four leagues from Sevilleta and eight from Alamillo. He passed the ruins of "las casas de Felipe Romero" about halfway from Sevilleta to Las Nutrias (Alessio Robles 1939:95-96).

A petition for settling San Gabriel de las Nutrias grant was filed in early 1764. After several attempts to settle the area and gain official approval the grant was revoked in 1771, but the settlement survived (Ebright 1996:203-208; Bowden 1969:II, 207-208). It appears regularly on maps from the late eighteenth century (Wheat 1959:I, plates 176,185,195,272). On 15 November 1780 Anza left the area near Belen and traveled five leagues south to Las Nutrias (Thomas 1932:198).

Casa Colorado

Era: 18th, and 19th century

Significance: Casa Colorado may have been a seventeenth- century landmark. It began its existence as a community early in the nineteenth century.

Annotated History: On 19 May 1760, after coming to Sevilleta, Bishop Tamarón passed the ruins of "the house they called Colorada," and from that point on they began to see pens of ewes, corrals, and small houses (Adams 1953:201). Given that this is the only colonial era mention of this place and that at the time it was already in ruins, perhaps a pre-revolt estancia which was located there gave its name to the area.

The modern settlement of Casa Colorado was born of a petition for a community grant in 1823.

The grant may not have been confirmed at that time but the town continued in existence (Bowden 1969:II, 205). Testimony in the adjudication of the grant before the Surveyor General confirmed that the town was built in 1822 or 1823 in the place already known by the name Casa Colorado (Town of Casa Colorado Grant:12). It was included in lists of New Mexico towns in 1833 and 1840 (Bloom 1913:14;Carroll and Haggard 1942:93).

Wislizenus only referred to the nearby sand hills and the location of "Casas Coloradas," six miles south of Tomé, when he camped there on 22 July 1846 (Wislizenus 1848:35). Later in the same year Abert commented on some large ponds north of town which were filled with water birds. His party had reached the Río Grande near there after descending from Abó Pass (Abert 1962:117-118).

In 1855, W.W.H. Davis observed that at Casa Colorado his party "struck a young desert, an excellent pocket edition of the great African Zahara, over which we journeyed for about four miles." Through the area north of "La Hoya" the sand made travel difficult and the land barren with the exception of "occasional small patches in some of the valleys close to the river" (Davis 1938:200).

In the 1920s the local Post Office was given the name "Turn" because there was a turn in the road at Casa Colorado and that name has since appeared on many maps but the original name is still in general use (Julyan 1996:67).

Las Barrancas

Era: 17th Century

Significance: Las Barrancas was an estancia before the revolt of 1680 whose name all but disappeared by 1900.

Annotated History: This was an estancia located between Sevilleta and Isleta on the east side of the Río Grande where Otermín camped the night of 5 December 1681 before attacking Isleta on the sixth (Hackett 1915:383). It was reported to be 23 leagues north of Senecú and 10

leagues south of Isleta (Hackett and Shelby 1942:II, 213).

Vargas went slightly more than three leagues north from the hacienda of Felipe Romero to Las Barrancas, the hacienda of Francisco Gómez, on 5 September 1692. It was about five leagues south of the hacienda of Tomé Domínguez (Kessell and Hendricks 1992:375).

The place name "la Barrancas" appears in the 1778 map drawn by Edward Ruggles, Jr., a Connecticut map- maker, from information on other existing maps (Wheat 1959:I, 149, plate 214).

The State of New Mexico placed a marker commemorating Las Barrancas alongside New Mexico Highway 47 just south of the A.T.&S.F. railroad tracks.

Jarales

Era: 19th Century

Significance: Jarales and Sabinal were ranchos outside Belén in the eighteenth century through which the west bank variant of the Camino Real ran.

Annotated History: According to Adams and Chávez, Domínguez was referring to Jarales when he described ranchos of genízaros living near Belén in 1776 (Adams and Chávez 1956:208). Chávez names Los Jarales as one of the main genízaro settlements of New Mexico in the late eighteenth century (Chávez 1979:199).

The name "Plaza de los Jarales" appears in an 1802 census, but not that of 1750 (Olmsted 1981:138-139). Among official listings of the early nineteenth century it is only found in 1822 (Bloom 1913:15; Carroll and Haggard 1942:47-48).

Zebulon Pike reported passing "Xaxales" on 10 March 1807, on the east side of the Río Grande between Tomé and Sevilleta, south of Sabinez or Sabinal. He recorded a population of 300. In 1895, Coues guessed that the name was probably a poor rendering of Jarales, a town in that area, but not in the same location (Coues 1895:II, 628-629).

Sabinal

Era: 19th Century

Significance: Sabinal, like Jarales, was founded outside Belén in the eighteenth century. The west bank variant of the Camino Real ran through the town.

Annotated History: In his reminiscences, recorded in 1777, Juan Candelaria described the founding of many towns after the Spanish reconquest of New Mexico in the 1690s. He thought that Sabinal was founded in 1741 and associated it with Belén (Armijo 1929:280-281).

Sabinal is listed on official registers of towns for 1820s (Bloom 1913:15; Carroll and Haggard 1942:47-48). It does not appear in some of the early censuses of the nineteenth century, but a complete census exists for 1827 (Olmsted 1981:250-260).

Zebulon Pike reported passing "Sabinez" on 10 March 1807, on the west side of the Río Grande between Tomé and Sevilleta (Coues 1895:II, 628-629).

George Rutledge Gibson wrote in his journal that he went through "San Sabinal" with Doniphan's army in December 1846. Doniphan's army passed was following the west bank of the Río Grande from Alburquerque to Valverde (Bieber 1935:290).

Belén (Bethlem)

Era: 18th and 19th Century

Significance: Belén was constructed on the west bank of the Río Grande. Colonial travelers saw it from their camps across the river while later users of the west bank road stopped within the town.

Annotated History: In his 1777 reminiscences, Juan Candelaria recalled that "Nuestra Señora de Belen" was founded in 1741 with the help of genízaro Indians (Armijo 1929:280-281).

On 19 May 1760 the houses of the settlement of Belén on the other side of the Río Grande came into Bishop Tamarón's view, and from there on

the countryside was covered by great poplar groves. Tamarón was received by the alcalde of Tomé with the citizens of his town, of Belén and of Isleta (Adams 1953:201). On 14 August 1766 Lafora commented that this settlement of 38 genízaro and Spanish families lay across the Río Grande from Tomé in a well- cultivated and pastured area (Alessio Robles 1939:96). On 14 November 1780, Juan Bautista de Anza left the pueblo near Valencia and traveled six leagues south, stopping for the night opposite the pueblo of Belen. It was five leagues further south to Las Nutrias (Thomas 1932:198).

In December 1846, George Rutledge Gibson and Doniphan's army passed through Belen while following the west bank of the Río Grande from Alburquerque to Valverde (Bieber 1935:284-287).

Given that most colonial traffic passed along the east bank of the Río Grande, the most used caravan paraje would have been opposite the town of Belén.

Los Cháves

Era: 19th Century

Significance: Los Chávez was founded as a farming community and was a stop for caravans that used the west bank to travel along the Río Grande.

Annotated History: The settlement of Los Chávez, on the west bank of the Río Grande, dates to a 1738 grant to Nicolás Durán y Chávez from Atrisco. In 1790 it consisted of six plazas (Julyan 1996:78;Espinosa and Chávez 1967:41-43). It was included in the 1802 census (Olmsted 1981:139-140).

In the autumn of 1847 a unit of the U.S. Army traveled south along the west bank of the Río Grande. Philip Gooch Ferguson reported that "the road most generally traveled" was on the east bank but the west side of the river was better for water. Ferguson mentioned camping near a small town named "Plaza Chavez" (Bieber 1936:326-328).

Tomé Hill, Cerro Tomé

NATIONAL REGISTER Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th Century

Significance: Tomé Hill, a natural landmark, served all travelers from prehistoric times into the historic period. A seventeenth- century road ran to the east of the hill. After the river changed its course in the early eighteenth century and the town was founded, the main road shifted to go along the valley and by the plaza.

Annotated History: When Otermín led his party and many Indian refugees south from Isleta toward El Paso on the east side of the Río Grande early in 1682, he noted passing "Serillo de Tome" (Hackett 1915:391). On 6 September 1692 Vargas noted that the road in the neighborhood of the hacienda that had belonged to Tomé Domínguez was so sandy that cargo had to be transferred from wagons to pack animals (Kessell and Hendricks 1992:375). Such a description fits the area around Tomé Hill more than it does the floor of the valley as it is at present.

According to Scurlock, Gerow, and Kammer, from the time of Oñate through that of Vargas the course of the Río Grande was further east, close to the western base of Tomé Hill. The "Rio Grande Pueblo Indian Trail," which became the Camino Real, ran along the along the eastern bank of the river. It went on the east side of the hill, "following the edge of the rincon sandhills just to the east of present La Entrada Road." Later, that track would be the "upper branch of the Camino Real." The river shifted west before 1739, when the Tomé grant was settled. An "inner valley branch" of the Camino Real then ran through the plaza of Tomé, connecting it to other settlements in the Río Grande valley (Scurlock, Gerow, and Kammer 1995:73,98-106). The river reportedly shifted eastward a short distance in 1769, flooding some of the houses and lands of Tomé (Adams and Chávez 1956:8).

Juan Candelaria dated the village of Tomé to October 1740 and added that the settlers immediately began construction of a church (Armijo 1929:278-279). In 1744, Fray Juan Miguel Menchero identified the petitioners as genízaros (Hackett 1937:401-402). Other sources say that

some genízaros joined Spanish families from the Alburquerque area in a request for lands in 1739 that included Tomé hill and the site of the former estancia of Tomé Domínguez de Mendoza, then on the east side of the river. Soon a plaza and church were begun just over a mile southeast of the hill, probably on the site of a former pueblo (see Scurlock, Gerow, and Kammer 1995:75).

On 19 May 1760 Bishop Tamarón was received by the alcalde of Tomé with the citizens of this town, of Belén and of Isleta. Tomé was a new settlement of Spanish citizens that, according to Tamarón, had the potential of becoming the best in the kingdom because of its extensive lands and the ease of running an irrigation ditch from the river. He wrote that they were already building a church, which was 33 varas long by 8 wide with a transept and three altars, that was dedicated to the Immaculate Conception. Bishop Tamarón confirmed 402 persons that afternoon. He did not record the population of this settlement until later because it was included in the census of the town of Alburquerque, to which it was subordinate (Adams 1953:201).

Lafora passed by Tomé on 14 August 1766 and wrote that it was also called "pueblo de la Limpia Concepción" and "Fuenclara." He located it six leagues north of Las Nutrias on good, flat road and across the Río Grande from Belén. It contained a population of 70 Spanish vecinos and their families. The entire region was well-cultivated and small livestock grazed on ample pasture (Alessio Robles 1939:96).

Pike stayed near what he called "St. Thomas" on 9 March 1807. He reported that the population was 500 and that the camp was constructed to be able to withstand an attack (Coues 1895:II.628). Wislizenus noted the fine irrigated fields of Tomé, which, he wrote, was stretched along the road. He passed by on 21 July 1846 and camped nearby (Wislizenus 1848:35). Tomé was one of the main genízaro settlements of New Mexico in the middle of the eighteenth century (Chávez 1979:199).

Because of the shift in the bed of the Río Grande, there were two separate roads through

the Tomé area. The earlier road ran directly east of Tomé Hill while the later went through the present plaza.

Dan Scurlock, et al., Spiritual Land, Historical Land: Tome Hill, New Mexico. Brochure prepared by the Valley Improvement Association.

Los Lunas

Era: 19th Century

Significance: Los Lunas/Los Lentes was the site of a pueblo and of early land grants. It became a political and economic center under the tutelage of the powerful Luna family.

Annotated History: One of the first Tiwa pueblos found by the Sánchez Chamuscado party in 1581 as they traveled north along the Río Grande through New Mexico was Piquinaguatengo on the west bank of the river. It has been identified with the pueblo of San Clemente, or Los Lentes, now within the boundaries of Los Lunas, New Mexico (Mecham 1926:276; Hammond and Rey 1927:46; Julyan 1996:209).

The roots of the town of Los Lunas are in the San Clemente grant of 1716, which came to be owned by the Luna family in the middle of the eighteenth century. Los Lunas also came to include Los Lentes, immediately to the north, originally a Tiwa pueblo (Espinosa and Chávez 1967:53; Julyan 1996:209). Only Los Lentes was included in the 1802 census (Olmsted 1981:140-142). "Lentes y Lomas" was listed in 1833 (Bloom 1913:15). The names of both Los Lentes and Los Lunas appear among the settlements listed by Manuel Armijo in 1840 (Carroll and Haggard 1942:93).

George Rutledge Gibson, in Doniphan's army in December 1846, camped at Los Lunas while following the west bank of the Río Grande from Alburquerque to Valverde (Bieber 1935:284-287). In the autumn of 1847 Philip Gooch Ferguson, a U.S. Army unit traveling south along the west bank of the Río Grande rather than the more usually traveled east bank, wrote of camping near the town of Los Lunas (Bieber 1936:326-327).

Valencia

Era: 17th, 18th, 19th Century

Significance: The site of Sangre de Cristo Church in Valencia also boasted a pre-colonial pueblo and a seventeenth-century estancia. Before 1800, two plazas were established, one at the old pueblo and estancia site and the other to the south.

Annotated History: Francisco de Valencia received an encomienda at the later site of the hacienda on the east side of the Río Grande early in the seventeenth century. It included the pueblo of Los Lentes on the west side of the river. During the 1630s he built an estancia at or very near the site of an already abandoned Southern Tiwa pueblo. The estancia was burned in the 1680 revolt. The pueblo at which Valencia built his estancia was probably that called Caxtole by the Sánchez Chamuscado party in 1581 (Brown and Vierra 1997:41- 42; Vivian 1932:42; Mecham 1926:276; Hammond and Rey 1927:46).

On 7 September 1692 Vargas stopped at the "outpost and ruined estancia of Juan de Valencia" (Kessell and Hendricks 1992:376). On 31 May 1726 Rivera left Las Nutrias and traveled eight leagues through flat land, seeing meadows and poplars on both sides of the Río Grande. He found many ruins of haciendas de labor and livestock estancias. He stayed at an abandoned estancia called Valencia (Alessio Robles 1946:51).

Candelaria gave the date of the resettlement of Valencia as 1751 (Armijo 1929:278-279). Other sources place it in the 1740s when a group of genízaros settled the Valencia area and two plazas were established by 1790. One was near the site of the former pueblo and estancia, and the present Valencia "Y"; the other was near the modern intersection of New Mexico Highway 47 and North El Cerro Loop (Taylor 1989:11). Valencia has been named as one of the main genízaro settlements of New Mexico in the middle of the eighteenth century (Chávez 1979:199). A church, called both Valencia and Sangre de Cristo, was begun around 1800 (Taylor 1989:39). It has been described as being 35 yards west of the Camino Real (Brown and Vierra

1997:45). The settlement was called "La Sangre de Cristo, Puesto de Valencia" in the census of 1802 (Olmsted 1981:135).

On 13 November 1780 Anza left the Ranch of Juan Sanches and traveled five leagues south to the pueblo of Valencia (Thomas 1932:198). Wislizenus noted the rich soil when passing through this area of New Mexico between Peralta and Tomé on 21 July 1846 (Wislizenus 1848:35).

The site of the Tiwa pueblo and the Valencia estancia, on the west side of N.M. Highway 47 at the present Sangre de Cristo church, was given the designation LA 953. The southern plaza, at N.M. Highway 47 and North Cerro Loop is LA 67321 (Brown and Vierra 1997:2).

Peralta

Era: 19th Century

Significance: Peralta was a thriving nineteenth- century community that grew up around the estancias of the Otero family.

Annotated History: The Tiwa pueblo identified by the Sánchez Chamuscado party as Mexicalcingo in 1581 was at or near Peralta (Vivian 1932:43). The town of Peralta grew up around the holdings of the Otero family, who lived there at least as early as the late 1830s. The original hacienda has been placed in the site now occupied by the Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Taylor wrote that the *sacristia* (probably meaning chapel) of the Juan Antonio Otero hacienda and early plaza of Peralta was at the north end of the Otero hacienda, on the south side of the plaza, and directly south of the church (Chávez 1992:251- 252; Taylor 1989:13-14,17,40-41).

Wislizenus referred to this settlement as both Peralta and as "Ontero's hacienda" when he passed it on 21 July 1846. He commented on the adobe walls that surrounded its livestock and irrigated (Wislizenus 1848:35). John M. Taylor clarified the note by Wislizenus, adding that the description was of the hacienda of Juan Antonio Otero (Taylor 1989:13).

Bosque, or Alamos, de Pinos (Bosque Farms) Era: 19th century

Significance: One of the most luxurious estancias in nineteenth century New Mexico was the actual site of the Civil War Battle of Peralta (1862).

Annotated History: Bosque de los Pinos was created in 1769 when floods caused the Río Grande to change course approximately two miles to the west, cutting off pieces of the Sedillo and Gutiérrez grants. The tract eventually came into the hands of Francisco Xavier Chávez, who built a hacienda on the property that was occupied by his son, José Mariano, in the late 1830s. After the death of José Mariano Chávez, his widow married trader Henry Connelly, a territorial governor during the Civil War (Taylor 1989:19- 21). Taylor located the hacienda on the east side of New Mexico Highway 47 between Abo and Pine Streets in modern Bosque Farms (Taylor 1989:19- 21).

The caravan bringing Wislizenus stopped at "Bosque, or Alamos, de Pinos," five miles south of Isleta pueblo, New Mexico, and a mile east of the Río Grande after crossing some difficult sand hills on 21 July 1846. Wislizenus also described the hacienda of Mariano Chávez's widow, two miles south of Bosque de los Pinos and one mile north of Peralta. He called it the largest which he had seen in that region. Its large fields and pastures were walled and irrigated and its quarters reminded him of plantations in the southern United States (Wislizenus 1848:35). For the distance estimates of Wislizenus to make sense, even as somewhat long, his Bosque de Pinos had to have been northwest of North Bosque Loop. His route from Isleta stayed away from the river in the sand hills, perhaps going near Chical, and then turning to the camp one mile from the river and still two miles, more or less, from the Chávez home.

In October 1846, Susan Shelby Magoffin camped in a grove of cottonwoods belonging to the Chávez family after leaving a pueblo that could only have been Isleta. The next morning she went on to visit the "widow of Don Mariano Chaviz." Magoffin described the luxurious Chávez home in some detail (Drumm 1926:202).

In 1855, W.W.H. Davis wrote that "about a mile below Doctor Connelly's we passed what is known as the bosque, a large tract of fine timber, mostly cottonwood, something very rare in New Mexico" (Davis 1938:197). Given that Davis placed the bosque south of Los Pinos while Wislizenus and Magoffin had it to the north of the hacienda it may be assumed that the entire area was known for its forest.

The minor, but locally famous, Civil War Battle of Peralta took place there on 15 April 1862 when Union forces besieged a Confederate unit in the Chávez/Connelly hacienda. A small skirmish also occurred away from the hacienda, between West Bosque Loop and the river, when a Confederate relief column was turned back as they attempted to cross the river (Alberts 1983:369-374).

After the Battle of Peralta the United States used Los Pinos as a supply depot and a military post. Maps and photographs of Los Pinos show the road between Albuquerque and Peralta running through the middle of the post of Los Pinos (Miller 1987:2,18). Evidently, then, the modern highway generally follows the colonial road and the bulk of the estancia was located to its east.

El Pueblo de Isleta

Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th Century

Significance: Isleta still occupies the same site as it did when the Spaniards first visited in 1540 though the river has changed its course since that time. The open area against the hills directly across the river was a popular *paraje*.

Annotated History: Isleta may have been the Tiwa pueblo that was called Taxumulco (or Taxomulco) by Sánchez Chamuscado in 1581. It was located directly across the Río Grande from a pueblo called Tomatlan (Mecham 1926:276; Hammond and Rey 1927:46; Vivian 1932:43). It was at Isleta that Gaspar Castaño de Sosa, in 1592, was told of the arrival of the Juan de Morlete party that came to arrest him for his illegal entrada (Hull 1916:330; Schroeder and Matson 1965:167-173; Pacheco, Cárdenas y Torres 1871:IV, 352).

In his 1634 memorial, former Custodian of New Mexico Fray Benavides reported that a convent was located at "San Antonio de la Isleta" of the "Tioas" (Tiwas) nation. This first convent was erected around 1613 and was considered to be unusually fine (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:64-65, 253-258). The large church and convent were dedicated to San Antonio de Padua (Vetancurt 1961:267). Isleta's native name was reported to be Shi- e- hwib'- bak (Lummis 1894:4). The Spanish called it "Isleta" because the Rio Grande split north of it and rejoined south of it surrounding the pueblo during floodtime.

Isleta did not participate in the 1680 revolt. During his attempt at reconquest, Otermín captured Isleta on 6 December, 1682. It was on the west bank of the Río Grande and the first pueblo found to be inhabited as Otermín entered New Mexico from the south. Otermín took at least 385 Isletans south to the region of El Paso, where Isleta del Sur was established (Hackett 1915:383-384; Hodge, Hammond, and Rev 1945:64-65,253-258). Vetancurt put the number of Isletans taken south by Otermín at 519. He also noted that the road to Acoma, Zuñi and Moqui (Hopi) left the river at Isleta (Vetancurt 1961:267). Scattered Tiwas were settled on the sight of the old pueblo after the reconquest and the church was rebuilt in 1709 (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:64-65,253-258).

On I June 1726 Rivera left Valencia and traveled north- northeast following the river. After five leagues he saw the pueblo of Isleta, inhabited by a small number of Tiwa families, on the west side of the river (Alessio Robles 1946:51). Fray Juan Miguel de Menchero reported that 80 families lived there in 1744. He also observed that some Hopis had been brought to Isleta for the purpose of converting them (Hackett 1937:405-406). On 19 May 1760 Bishop Tamarón was received by the alcalde of Tomé with the citizens of this town, of Belén and of Isleta (Adams 1953:201). Lafora passed through the neighborhood of this Tiwa pueblo, following north along the Río Grande, on 16 August 1766. It was ministered by a Franciscan priest. He reported that it lay along the road on the other (west) side of the

river in a large alameda (poplar grove) which covered both banks of the river (Alessio Robles 1939:52).

Wislizenus camped below some sand hills across the Río Grande from the pueblo of Isleta on 19 July 1846. He commented on the church, orchards, fields, and cottonwood trees. His party ate apples from the pueblo that night. To the south, the sand hills became more difficult to cross (Wislizenus 1848:35). George Rutledge Gibson, in Doniphan's army in December 1846, passed through Isleta while following the west bank of the Río Grande from Alburquerque to Valverde. Gibson wrote that they traveled along the river bottom from Alburquerque to Isleta, not mentioning any other locations in the interim (Bieber 1935:284-287). It must have been Isleta that Philip Gooch Ferguson called "San Durasnos" in 1848. His army unit crossed from the east to the west bank of the Río Grande near Isleta and continued south down the less used road on the west side (Bieber 1936:326-327).

According to a sketch map by Ted Jojola of Isleta Pueblo, the riverbed in the Isleta area was different than it is today when the Spanish arrived in New Mexico. It deviated to the west about a mile above the pueblo, then crossed the modern bed a little below the pueblo and ran to the east until about Los Lunas. If both beds shown in the map were running full it would make of the pueblo site an island and explain the name bestowed by the Spanish. Given that early chroniclers consistently describe Isleta as being on the west bank, the northern segment must have changed to its modern alignment early in the colonial period. The rest of the bed changed course approximately two miles to the west in 1769 and the area between the old and new channels came to be known as Bosque de los Pinos. In later floods the original bed filled and the land between them also flooded up to five feet deep (Taylor 1989:5,10,19).

Los Padillas

Era: 19th Century

Significance: The history of Spanish settlement at Los Padillas extends back to the seven-

teenth century. Its use as a paraje was increased in the nineteenth century when more travelers began using the road along the west bank of the Río Grande.

Annotated History: Juan Candelaria recalled Los Padillas being settled in 1710 (Armijo 1929:280-281). It appeared in the 1802 census (Olmsted 1981:142-143).

Wislizenus mentioned this as a hacienda south of Alburquerque on 19 July 1846. He was on the east side of the Río Grande, and noted that the more verdant west bank contained many ranchos and haciendas, among them one called Padillas (Wislizenus 1848:35). On 22 November 1846 the army unit which included Marcellus Ball Edwards came in from a campaign against the Navajo and reached Los Padillas, where they stayed at the house of José Chávez (Bieber 1936:211).

Given that the Chávez family resided at Los Padillas, this was probably the "Chávez or Padillas" listed in an 1822 register of New Mexico settlements (Bloom 1913:14).

Pajarito

Era: 19th Century

Significance: Pajarito appears in documents from the seventeenth century. The earliest known reference is 1643 when the resident priest at Isleta acquired Pajarito as a small ranch. The origins of Pajarito are, indeed, nebulous. The land, about a league north of Isleta, was used for raising crops and herding. By the eighteenth century, the area would bear the name Puesto de San Isidro de Pajarito. In the nineteenth century more travelers began using the road along the west bank of the Río Grande which brought more visitors to the Atrisco Valley and Pajarito.

Annotated History: A violent dispute over land between the Pueblo of Isleta and the nearby estancia of "Paxarito" was discussed during the 1663 trial of Governor López Mendizábal of New Mexico before the Inquisition in Mexico City (Primera Audiencia de don Bernardo López de Mendizábal, 1663). Juan Candelaria thought

that Pajarito was resettled by Juan Fernandez in 1711 (Armijo 1929:279-280). It was listed in the 1802 census (Olmsted 1981:143). Although this area has also been known by other names, in the 1894 hearings on the Atrisco Land Grant before the United States Court of Private Land Claims, the northern boundary of Pajarito was given as the southern boundary of the Atrisco grant (Sánchez 1998:81-82). In 1659 for example, a reference was made to a short-lived Spanish cattle ranch near Isleta Pueblo called Pajarito, on the southern end of the Valle de Atrisco.

Atrisco

Era: 19th Century

Significance: Atrisco's rich history began in the seventeenth century. The nineteenth century brought more traffic to the west side of the Río Grande and to Atrisco.

Annotated History: Richard Greenleaf and Joseph Metzgar point to a 1662 attempt by Governor Peñalosa "to found a villa in the midst of the settled region, in a valley called Atrisco" as the earliest evidence for the existence of this settlement (Greenleaf 1967:5; Metzgar 1977:269). This document went on to call Atrisco "the best site in all New Mexico" (Hackett 1937:265). Before the 1680 Pueblo revolt this area was well populated, according to documents cited by Charles Wilson Hackett (Hackett 1911:129). Maestro de Campo Juan Domínguez de Mendoza testified to going by his old hacienda "in the jurisdiction that they call Atrisco" on 8 December during the 1681 attempt to reconquer New Mexico (Hackett and Shelby 1942:II.258; Hackett 1915:383-384).

In 1692, Fernando Durán y Chávez, a resident of the area before the 1680 revolt, asked Governor Vargas for a grant to the lands of Atrisco and Vargas assented. In 1701, Durán y Chávez officially petitioned for a grant. Atrisco was resettled in March 1703 (Sánchez 1998:9-12; Armijo 1929:278-279).

Menchero described Atrisco along with the villa of Alburquerque in 1744. He wrote that the two were on the banks of the Río Grande,

engaged in farming and weaving, and were administered by a priest in the villa (Hackett 1937:400-401). In 1760, Bishop Tamarón noted the danger faced by the priest in Alburquerque when he crossed the Río Grande to minister to citizens on the west bank. Such a crossing would have taken him to Atrisco and shows that Atrisco was an ecclesiastical dependency of Alburquerque (Adams 1953:202; Sánchez, 1998:17; Simmons 1973:10). Fray Domínguez gave a brief description of "Atlixco" in 1776. He placed it directly across the river from Alburquerque on a beautiful sandy plain and cited a population of 52 families, 288 persons. He also referred to it as Atlixco and Atrisco of Alburquerque (Adams and Chávez 1956:154,207,243).

When Zebulon Pike traveled down the Río Grande as a Spanish prisoner in 1807, he crossed the Río Grande from east to west "a little below Alburquerque" on 7 March. In 1895, Coues identified the ford as Atrisco, a common crossing before the advent of roads and the railroad (Coues 1895:II.621,625; III.946).

Los Ranchos de Alburquerque, Old Town Albuquerque

Albuquerque, New Mexico Era: 18th and 19th Century

Significance: Alburquerque was founded as a villa in 1706 in a rich agricultural region of New Mexico. Its "Old Town" plaza was the original town center.

Annotated History: Evidently, the decision to settle the "Bosque Grande of Doña Luisa" was made in 1698. A manuscript from February 1706 showed that Governor Cuervo y Valdéz authorized the actual settlement, which took place shortly thereafter. A church, dedicated to Saint Francis Xavier, was quickly built and soldiers sent to guard against Indian raids (Greenleaf 1964:6-7). The pre-revolt estancia of "Doña Luisa de Trugillo" has been placed three leagues south of Sandia Pueblo. The area of Alburquerque contained 19 Spanish landholding Spanish families before the 1680 revolt (Twitchell 1911:I.364).

Among the reasons for Governor Cuervo's choice of site were that it was on the Camino Real, near a good ford of the river to the west, and directly west of a pass (Tijeras) to the plains (Simmons 1980:191). In addition, estancias were already scattered for a league up and down the river, from Alameda to the swamps of Mejía, before the 1680 revolt (Simmons 1980:197- 202).

On I June 1726, after passing the pueblo of Isleta, Rivera went four leagues to the Villa of Alburquerque, a settlement of Spaniards, mestizos and mulattos who lived in various ranchos. The name was changed to Albuquerque after the United States militarily occupied New Mexico (Alessio Robles 1946:51). In 1754, Father Trigo referred to "the site of the Villa of Alburquerque, for the settlers, who inhabit it on Sunday, do not live there." He added that they spent most of their time on their farms in Alameda (Hackett 1937:464), and likely Atrisco and other villages as far down as Pajarito.

On 20 May 1760 Bishop Tamarón described Alburquerque as a villa composed of Spanish citizens and Europeanized mixtures. He wrote that their priest and missionary was a Franciscan friar, and that it was located 10 leagues north of Tomé. He counted 270 families totaling 1814 persons. Eleanor B. Adams added some other population estimates from the same era in a note (Adams 1953:202). Lafora camped at this villa of 70 Spanish families on 16 August 1766 and commented on its militia of 80 well- armed and mounted men, its civil officials, and the Franciscan priest (Alessio Robles 1939:96).

In 1776 Fray Domínguez wrote that the "mission of the Villa of San Felipe Neri de Alburquerque" was "four leagues down the road to the south on the same plain as the mission of "Our Father Santo Domingo." The church and convent were about "two musket shots" from the Río Grande. Until 1706 the general area of Alburquerque was variously called "Bosque Grande," "Bosque Grande de Doña Luisa," "Estancia de Doña Luisa de Trujillo," and "Bosque Grande de San Francisco Xavier" (Adams and Chávez 1956:144).

When Zebulon Pike traveled down the Río

Grande as a Spanish prisoner in 1807, he described the Alburquerque area as the best cultivated and inhabited that he had yet seen. He later referred to Alburquerque and El Paso as the second cities of the province of New Mexico. As he passed through on 7 March, he observed the residents opening irrigation canals from the river for the purpose of cultivating the plains and fields on both sides of the river (Coues 1895:II.619-621,739).

Wislizenus arrived in Alburquerque from the east on 12 July 1846 after going away from the Río Grande to explore some mines to the south of Santa Fé. He commented that an abundance of stock was grazing on the plain to the east of town and wrote that the surrounding countryside was irrigated and cultivated. He also noted that Alburquerque was spread along the river for several miles and was comparable in size to Santa Fé. His caravan was delayed north of Alburquerque when rain damaged part of the road that followed the river. Eventually they made it to a higher road to the east that also became impassable just south of Alburquerque. Wislizenus wrote that although some caravans crossed to the west bank of the river at Alburguerque and recrossed at Socorro, his did not, electing to remain on the east bank throughout its journey (Wislizenus 1848:33-34).

Later in 1846 Abert advised travelers to cross to the west at Alburquerque and back in the area of Fray Cristóbal (Abert 1962:120). ccording to George Rutledge Gibson, Doniphan's army followed Abert's advice in December 1846. It crossed the Río Grande east to west at Alburquerque and followed the west bank to Valverde (Bieber 1935:284). In the autumn of 1848 an army unit went south through Alburquerque, mentioning a stop in "Las Varelas," now the Barelas neighborhood, and then crossed to the west bank near Isleta (Bieber 1936:325-326).

The high road mentioned by Wislizenus was known as La Ladera Road. It ran along the foothills on the east side of the river valley to avoid the valley bottom as needed because of floods and swampy conditions. Though it undoubtedly received much use through the

centuries there are no plazas from before 1800 along it to highlight as parajes. It is reasonable to assume that travelers most often took their rests at populated places, such as Indian pueblos, Alburquerque after 1706, and estancias, whose locations are, in general, unknown (Sargeant and Davis 1986:175-177).

Alameda

Era: 18th and 19th Century

Significance: Alameda was the name given by early Spanish settlers to a Tiwa pueblo on the west side of the Río Grande. The Alameda land grant, founded in 1710, was originally on the west side of the river. Later, the name was ascribed to its Spanish community on the east bank that was founded in Alburquerque's north valley. Alameda, today, is unincorporated.

Annotated History: In his account of the Sánchez Chamuscado entrada, Gallegos located the Tiwa- speaking pueblo of Santa Catalina on the west side of the Río Grande and upriver of those pueblos generally agreed to be in the vicinity of Isleta, New Mexico. This was probably the site of Alameda pueblo at the time (Mecham 1926:277; Hammond and Rey 1927:46). On 14 February 1583, Espejo's party left *El* Corvillo and continued north along the Río Grande for four leagues before coming upon two pueblos whose residents had fled to the mountains at the approach of the Spaniards. They called these Los Despoblados. On 16 February, they again headed north, and after five leagues encountered another deserted pueblo. This time they took provisions, including turkeys, after whom they named the pueblo "Los Guajolotes." This was probably the pueblo later known as Alameda (Hammond and Rey 1929:79; Vivian 1932:50- 52).

In 1681 and before, Alameda was located on the west bank of the Río Grande 71/2-8 leagues above Isleta. It was reached from Isleta and Atrisco without a river crossing and then the river was forded to reach Puaray and Sandia (Hackett and Shelby 1942:I.227-230; Hackett 1915:381).

The claims of the Town of Alameda and Elena Gallegos grants posit a different course for the Río Grande through the Alameda area in the early eighteenth century, one that ran close to hills east of the present bed. José Urrutia's map of 1769 placed Alameda on the east side of the Río Grande, showing that the river changed course to its present bed sometime between 1710 and 1769 (Town of Alameda Grant:20-21,83; Elena Gallegos Grant:3; Sargeant 1987:39-44).

The church there was dedicated to Santa Ana, according to Vetancurt, and it was burned in the 1680 revolt (Vetancurt 1961:267). In his reminiscences, recorded in 1777, Juan Candelaria gave a post- conquest history in which Alameda was repopulated in 1702 by Tiwa Indians; they were relocated to Isleta in 1708; the town was settled by Spaniards in 1711; and construction of the church began in 1712 (Armijo 1929:276-278). In 1754, Father Joséj Manuel San Juan Nepomuceno y Trigo reported that the residents of Alburquerque actually lived at their farms located in Alameda and only inhabited Alburguerque on Sunday (Hackett 1937:464). Actually, Alburquequenses lived up and down the valley from Bernalillo to Pajarito.

The post- revolt Hispanic plaza of Alameda was located immediately north of the intersection of Río Grande Boulevard and Alameda Road until 1903. At that time, destruction by floodwaters forced the church to move southeast to its present location (Sargeant 1987:45; Steele 1995:165; Sargeant and Davis 1986:19).

Sandia Pueblo

Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th Century

Significance: Sandia pueblo was deserted after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. The earliest known reference to that name is 1611. The Spanish resettled the pueblo in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Annotated History: In his 1634 memorial, Benavides counted "San Francisco de Sandia" as one of the two convents of the "Tioas" nation. He noted that the body of Fray Francisco López of the Sánchez Chamuscado expedition was interred in that convent (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:64-65). In 1692, Vetancurt described a large church, dedicated to Saint Francis, and a good convent at "Zandia." It was razed in the revolt of 1680, but not until the padres had escaped (Vetancurt 1961:268).

In 1681, Sandia was one league above Puaray on the east side of the Río Grande (Hackett 1915:381). Many of the inhabitants of Sandia fled to the Hopi region after the revolt of 1680 and Otermín destroyed the pueblo in 1681 (Hackett 1937:464). On 2 June 1726 Rivera found only the remnants of the pueblo of Sandia, five leagues north of Alburquerque (Alessio Robles 1946:51).

In 1777, Juan Candelaria recalled that Father Juan Miguel de Menchero resettled Sandia with Tiwas and some Moquis (Hopis) in 1746 (Armijo 1929:280). The resettlement date has also been given as 1748 (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:64-65,253-258). In 1754, Sandia was reported to contain some fifty families (Hackett 1937:464).

In 1759 Bishop Tamarón wrote that this pueblo of Moqui and Tiwa Indians was new and located four leagues north of Alburquerque. He found one Franciscan missionary parish priest who administered 35 families of settlers, totaling 222 persons. He described the Indians as living apart in their tenements, separated after the "manner customary in this kingdom." The Tiwa section housed 51 families totaling 196 persons while that of the converted Moqui Indians held 16 families, totaling 95 persons (Adams 1953:203). On 17 August 1766, Lafora estimated that this pueblo was five leagues north- northeast of Alburquerque. The Tiwas and "Moquiños" there were administered by a Franciscan cleric (Alessio Robles 1939:97).

In 1776 Fray Domínguez wrote that from Santo Domingo one traveled south some seven leagues downstream along the meadow of the Río Grande, which was on the east bank. He described the pueblo and mission of "Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Sandia" as being located 16 leagues from Santa Fé. In the Sandia registers the title was also given as "Our Lady of Sorrows and St. Anthony." Domínguez wrote

that the convent resembled nothing more than the old half- fallen houses usually found in Indian pueblos near Mexico City. He wrote that the pueblo lay to the east of the church and convent, below their facade. It was arranged and built in three small blocks, or buildings, to the north and two small plazas to the south. Everything was made of adobe and distributed and arranged like the other missions. The pueblo still housed Indians of two nations, the majority being Tiwas and the others Moquis. In his census the Indians number 92 families, totaling 275 persons (Adams and Chávez 1956:138-139,141-144).

Pike referred to this as "St. Dies" when he passed by it on 6 March 1807. He noted that it was administered by the priest from San Felipe and contained a population of 500 (Coues 1895:II, 618-619).

Bernalillo

Era: 18th and 19th Century

Significance: Bernalillo was a heavily populated district when visited by sixteenth-century Spaniards. It continued that tradition as a Spanish community, though it was not generally visited by the bulk of travelers who were across the river on the east bank. Alburquerque was founded by settlers from Bernalillo.

Annotated History: Coronado headquartered his expedition in the Bernalillo area in 1540-1541 (Julyan 1996:36). According to the Gallegos account of the 1581 Sánchez Chamuscado journey into New Mexico, the Tiwa pueblos of Analco, Culiacán, Villarrasa, and La Palma were encountered, in that order, going north along the west side of the Río Grande. The Tiwa pueblos of Zenpoala, Nompe, Malpais, and Caseres were found along the east side of the Río Grande. Caseres seems to have marked the northern end of the Tiwa pueblos. All of these were probably located in the area of modern Bernalillo (Mecham 1926:277- 278; Hammond and Rey 1927:46-48).

Julyan writes that the name "Bernalillo" dates back to the seventeenth century though he contradicts himself as to the specific date. Julyan suggests that (Julyan 1996:16-17,36-37). Fray Angelico Chávez also speculates that the name "Bernalillo" may have come from a priest in New Mexico named "Bernal" or from "Bernardo", the son of Fernando Duran y Chávez, an early settler. In either case it was bestowed before the 1680 Pueblo Indian revolt (Chávez 1948:III).

The Bernalillo that was founded, or refounded, after the revolt, stretched for several miles upstream of its present location and probably on the west side of the Río Grande. Some colonists built a plaza and a church, which was dedicated to San Francisco, in 1695 (Kessell 1989:313). In his 1777 reminiscences, Juan Candelaria noted that a convent was built in Bernalillo sometime after 1698, but it was destroyed by flood in 1735-36 (Armijo 1929:276).

In 1776 Fray Atanasio Domínguez wrote that the mission in Sandia also had charge of the administration of some citizens divided into two small groups one of which, two leagues to the north, was called Bernalillo. It had 27 families with 81 persons (Adams and Chávez 1956:144). Lafora gave this name to a collection of ranchitos scattered along both sides of the Río Grande between the pueblos of Sandia and San Felipe in New Mexico on 18 August 1766 (Alessio Robles 1939:97). On 11 November 1780, Anza placed Bernalillo six leagues south of Santo Domingo (Thomas 1932:197- 198).

Santa Ana Pueblo

New Mexico Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th Century

Significance: Santa Ana has remained an important pueblo throughout the colonial, Mexican, and U.S. periods.

The old village which the Spaniards knew as Tamayo, was located on the north bank of the Jémez River against the cliffs of Black Mesa. There they built a mission church about 1600 and, like most of the Spanish missions, it was destroyed during the Pueblo Revolt. The pueblo was reoccupied after the revolt; however, the reoccupation did not last. The U.S. Census for 1890 found the old pueblo deserted.

The Camino Real ran close by Santa Ana Pueblo and the pueblo provided foodstuffs to travellers.

Coronado State Monument, Kuaua Pueblo

Bernalillo, New Mexico NATIONAL REGISTER Era: 17th and 18th Century

Kuaua is a Tiwa word for "evergreen." It was first settled around AD 1300 by American indains who had long known about he fertile land near the Rio grande. Successful at agriculture elsewhere, many moved into the area, allying themselves with the local population. The resulting pubelo flourished and grew, as did the many neighboring villages along the life- giving Rio Grande.

In 1540 Francisco Vasquez de Coronado - with 300 soldiers and 800 Indian allies from New Spain - entered this valley. Coronado's expedition was searching for the fabled cities of gold ubt instead found villages inhabited by properous native people. Coronado's party camped near the Tiwa pueblo of Kuaua, one of the many villages contacted by the explorers. Acording to v. of the Handbook of North American Indians, Kuaua was found to be occupied during the time of the Spanish Entradas 146).

Kuaua is an earthen pueblo excavated in the 1930s by WPA workers, who also reconstructed new ruin walls over the reburied original ruins. A square kiva, excavated in the south plaza of the community contained many layers of mural paintings. These murals represent some of the finest examples of Pre- Columbian mural art in North America. Both the kiva and one of the mural layers are reconstructed and oppen to visitors, while several of the preserved mural segments are open to viewing in the mural room of the visitor center. The visitor center also contains prehistoric and historic Indian and Spanish colonial artifiacts exhibits with weveral hands-on components.

State Monuments brochure

San Felipe Pueblo

Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th Century

Significance: Although it evidently moved at some point, San Felipe has remained an important pueblo throughout the colonial, Mexican, and U.S. periods.

Annotated History: The Sánchez Chamuscado party of 1581 visited a Keres pueblo that they named "Palomares." It sat across (west of) the Río Grande from "Campos," or Santo Domingo, near modern Cubero. It has also been identified as "Kat- isht- ya, or the first San Felipe," (Mecham 1926:278- 279; Hammond and Rey 1927:47- 48).

On 30 July 1598 the Oñate expedition passed "Sant Phelipe" while heading to Santo Domingo (Pacheco, Cárdenas y Torres 1871:XVI, 254). Vetancurt reported in 1692 that the convent at "San Phelipe" was a well- stocked infirmary. It also had a music chapel ("Capilla de musicos") and, together with the smaller Santa Ana pueblo nearby, accounted for many faithful. There were 600 persons in the two pueblos (Vetancurt 1961:270). Otermín reported stopping by San Felipe during his retreat from Santa Fé in 1681. Hackett and Shelby note that the river was running very high at the time, making it unlikely that the party would cross to visit the pueblo. They conclude that the pueblo may have been on the east side of the river during the seventeenth century (Hackett and Shelby 1942:I.22; I.xlii).

On 2 June 1726 Rivera found the Keres pueblo of San Felipe five leagues from Sandia and ten from Alburquerque, on the west side of the river (Alessio Robles 1946:51). In 1744, Fray Juan Miguel de Menchero placed San Felipe three leagues from Santo Domingo and 15 from Santa Fé. Menchero added that the pueblo had earlier been located atop the adjacent mesa but had moved down to the river after the revolt of 1680 (Hackett 1937:404). In 1760 Bishop Tamarón located this pueblo four leagues south of Santo Domingo and on the opposite side of the Río Grande (Adams 1953:203). A Franciscan priest ministered to "Keres" Indians in this mission, which Lafora thought was two and a half leagues southwest of Santo Domingo pueblo on the right bank of the Río Grande (Alessio Robles 1939:97). In Morfi's 1782 description of New Mexico he described the locale of San Felipe as a narrow place between the Río Grande and a stony mesa 12 leagues from Santa Fé. Morfi echoed Menchero's description of the pueblo moving off the mesa after 1680 (Thomas 1932:97). According to Joseph P. Sánchez, San Felipe was atop the mesa at least as late as 1696 (Sánchez 1998:11).

Zebulon Pike traveled down the Río Grande as a Spanish prisoner in 1807. On 6 March he crossed the Río Grande to the west bank by a wooden bridge of eight arches and entered the pueblo which he called "St. Philip's." Upon leaving, he recrossed the bridge and continued down the east side of the Río Grande. He marked San Felipe's population as 1,000 (Coues 1895:II.616-618).

Regardless of whether or when San Felipe was located on the east bank or atop a mesa on the west bank the paraje would have been adjacent to the east bank of the river alongside the Camino Real. Trade with the pueblo would have occurred on either side of the river. Notwithstanding the location of the *paraje*, lodging in the pueblo during the colonial period was common.

Santo Domingo Pueblo

Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th Century

Significance: In the seventeenth century, Santo Domingo boasted the best convent in New Mexico and was the repositoy of the Franciscans' archives. It remains an important pueblo in New Mexico.

Annotated History: Going north from Tiwa country during their 1581 entrada, Sánchez Chamuscado entered the land of the Keres speakers at the pueblo which they called "Campos." It was found on the east side of the Río Grande in the vicinity of the pueblo of Santo Domingo (Mecham 1926:278- 279; Hammond and Rey 1927:47- 48). On 8 and 9 March 1591, Castaño de Sosa moved his camp from San Marcos in the Galisteo basin to a point near Santo Domingo. Apparently Castaño gave the

pueblo its Spanish name. Later, it was at a ruined pueblo near Santo Domingo and "Gipuy" that he was arrested by Morlete (Hull 1916:328-330; Schroeder and Matson 1965:142; 157-160; Pacheco, Cárdenas y Torres 1871:IV, 347).

On the night of 27 June 1598 Oñate came six leagues from Puaray to Ji- pi- y or Santo Domingo in order to impress into service, as translators and guides, two Indians named Tomas and Xupal. They were arrested on the 28th and brought back to Puaray. On 30 June 1598, they were back in Santo Domingo, in whose province the "Convent de Nuestra Señora de la Asumpcion" was erected (Pacheco, Cárdenas y Torres 1871:XVI, 253-254; Mecham 1926:278). On 7 July 1598 a general council of seven Indian chieftains of different New Mexico provinces was held at Santo Domingo. Each pledged obedience to the Spanish king (Pacheco, Cárdenas y Torres 1871:XVI, 256). When the Oñate expedition returned to Santo Domingo on 27 July 1598, Ginés de Herrera Horta, chief auditor and legal counsel to Oñate, reported seeing about 100 Indians dancing to celebrate the coming of the Spaniards (Hammond and Rey 1953:II.643,662). Captain Alonso Gómez Montesinos, one of the settlers of San Gabriel, stated that the Indians of Santo Domingo came to recite their prayers at the ringing of the bell and that the natives taught each other the prayers willingly and devoutly (Hammond and Rey 1953:II.711).

In 1662, Governor Don Bernardo López de Mendizábal was briefly imprisoned by the Franciscan Friars in the *baptisterio* of Santo Domingo before he was transported to Mexico City for his trial before the Inquisition (Primera Audiencia de don Bernardo López de Mendizábal, 1663). In his 1692 treatise, Friar Vetancurt wrote that the convent at Santo Domingo was the best of the custodio and noted that it was the repositoy of the Franciscans' archives. The church and all of its imágenes were burned in the 1680 rebellion and three priests were killed. He went on to describe the road to Santa Fé as "flat" (Vetancurt 1961:270).

On 2 June 1726 Rivera found Santo Domingo, two leagues from San Felipe, inhabited by the Keres Indians. This same day he met with the governor of this region, who was then Juan Domingo de Bustamante, governor from 1722 to 1731 (Alessio Robles 1946:51). Menchero described Santo Domingo as twelve leagues from Santa Fé on the banks of the Río Grande (Hackett 1937:404). In 1760 Bishop Tamarón wrote that Santo Domingo was located six leagues north of Sandia. He wrote that there were no settlers and that the mission priest was a Franciscan friar. He counted 67 families of Indians, totaling 424 persons (Adams 1953:203).

In 1776 Fray Domínguez described the river Las Bocas as joining the Río Grande from the plain above the "Mission of Our Father Santo Domingo" (Adams and Chávez 1956:41). He wrote that Santo Domingo was reached by traveling about nine leagues from Santa Fé to the southwest. It was established and located in full view of the Río Grande. He stated that there were two churches in this mission, one old and the other new. Floods destroyed these buildings in 1886; the present church at Santo Domingo dates from about 1890 (Adams and Chávez 1956:137).

Fray Domínguez described the rancho of a citizen and his family located one league north on the same plain. This was the "Rancho de José Miguel de la Peña" from 1777 to 1780, the "Rancho de Peña" in 1791, and from 1792 on it was "Rancho de la Peña Blanca." He wrote that the pueblo of Santo Domingo consisted of six blocks, or buildings, of dwellings. The whole pueblo was surrounded by a high adobe wall with two gates. In order to reach the pueblo one had to travel the highway going up or down. He observed abundant cultivated lands above and below the pueblo, as well as on the opposite bank, and also small peach and apricot trees and an abundance of melons and watermelons. He wrote that the Keres of this pueblo were commonly called "Chachiscos" as well. In his census, Fray Domínguez counted 136 families, totaling 528 persons (Adams and Chávez 1956:130-138).

Ten leagues from Santa Fé, New Mexico by the main road, this "Keres" pueblo and Franciscan mission was visited by Lafora on 18 August 1766. There, the main road left the Río Grande for the final stretch into the capital (Alessio Robles

1939:97). When, on 10 November 1780, Anza left Las Golondrinas and traveled six leagues south to the pueblo of Santo Domingo, he met two Navajo Apaches who wanted to exchange a young Spaniard from "Presidio del Paso" for a little girl who was a captive. The next day Anza turned her over to "her owners" (Thomas 1932:197).

Zebulon Pike traveled down the Río Grande as a Spanish prisoner in 1807. On 5 March he arrived at the pueblo of Santo Domingo, which he reckoned had a population of about 1,000 "Keres" Indians. Although he thought little of the buildings in the pueblo he was quite impressed by the elegant ornamentation of the paintings and statues of the patron saint in the church. He also noted the view of the river and the "St. Dies" or Sandia mountains (Coues 1895:II.615).

Cochiti Pueblo

Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th Century

Significance: Cochiti has remained an important pueblo throughout the colonial, Mexican, and U.S. periods.

This small Keresan pueblo has occupied the same site on the west bank of the Río Grande since 1250 A.D. The first European visitor was Fray Agustín Rodriguez in 1581. The Mission of San Buenaventura was built between 1625 and 1630 and was burned during the Pueblo Revolt.

When the reconquest began, the Cochiti people fled to a mountain stronghold named Cieneguilla. After de Vargas conquered Cieneguilla most of the Indians returned to Cochiti to help construct a new mission; it is still standing. The Camino Real ran close to Cochiti Pueblo and passed through an ancient pueblo likely of Cochiti heritage.

San Marcos Pueblo

NATIONAL REGISTER, ARMS Era: 17th and 18th Century

San Marcos Pueblo was mentioned by Oñate on his way to San Juan Pueblo in 1598. It was a 1500 room pueblo although not all rooms were occupied at one time. San Marcos is the pueblo credited with mining in the Cerrillos hills, particularly the Turquoise. The Camino Real would go up Galisteo Creek and head north approximately on State Route 14 and pass San Marcos on its way to San Juan and/or Santa Fe.

La Badaja

Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th Century

At what is traditionally the dividing point in New Mexico between Rio Arriba (Upper River district) and Rio Abajo (Lower River district) travelers on the Camino Real could choose one of three ways to reach Santa Fe. (1) La Bajada Hill was the most difficult; (2) the Santa Fe River Canon (la Boca) was the most used in the colonial period; and (3) traveling Galisteo creek to over the escarpment in the Juana Lopez Grant was used in territorial times. Galisteo Creek was also traveled to a point south of San Marcos Pueblo where the road turned north past the pueblo and headed to San Juan Pueblo or to Santa Fe.

The community of La Badaja is a small settlement that was a freight depot, stage stop, and trading center for freighters during the 19th century, although Robert Julyan in Place Names says that it was established prior to 1680. Incoming freighters had to travel a winding route down the face of the nearby black basalt cliff, bracing their wagon wheels with boulders when they stopped. Northbound caravans rested before ascending the santa Fe River canyon, one of the more difficult passages of the entire route.

LA BAJADA HILL (Santa Fe; II mi SW of Santa Fe). From 1598, when Spanish colonists trudged beside lumbering oxcarts, to the early 20th century, when American tourists drove Model A automobiles, the steep and abrupt escarpment of La Bajada Hill was a notorious landmark on the road between Santa Fe and

Albuquerque. The old route up La Bajada Hill was barely 1.5 miles long, but it traversed tough volcanic rock; in the 20th century it included 23 hairpin turns and was the scene of countless frustrations and mishaps, from overturned wagons to boiling radiators. Residents of the village of La Bajada (see entry) at the hill's base named a spot on the hill Florida because a truck carrying oranges overturned there. In 1932, a new route up the escarpment was laid out, followed today by I-25, and the original route, 5 mi N and W, fell into disuse, though a few drivers still attempt it to test their vehicles' toughness. The name La Bajada now is gradually being transferred to the new route.

During colonial times, La Bajada Hill was the dividing line between the two great economic and governmental regions of Hispanic NM, the Rio Abajo, "lower river," and the Rio Arriba, "upper river." The large, sprawling mesa on whose edge La Bajada Hill is located is called La Majada, "sheepfold," or "place where shepherds keep their flocks," but because the road from Santa Fe to the Rio Abajo descended from the mesa here, the escarpment took the name La Bajada, "the descent." "Hill" was added to the name much more recently, an addition that often causes confusion to Spanish speakers, as the name now seems to consist of two generics.

La Ciénega

Era: 18th and 19th Century

Significance: This area has often been called the closest *paraje* to Santa Fé. It has been inhabited nearly continuously since before the arrival of the Spanish.

Annotated History: La Ciénega was a seventeenth- century pueblo that was resettled by Spaniards in the early eighteenth century. Schackel notes that it was also called El Guicú, San José del Guicú, and La Cañada del Guicú in the eighteenth century (Schackel 1979:5-8).

In 1777, Juan Candelaria's 1777 reminiscences included mention of the settlement of Cienega in 1715. He added that it was four leagues from Santa Fé and was watered by Los Ojos del Alamo (Armijo 1929:282-284).

In 1776 Fray Domínguez identified Ciénega Grande as the settlement below Cieneguilla and five leagues from Santa Fé. He wrote that it lay in a kind of nook between two cañadas, and that the outlines of ancient ruins were visible at the site of this settlement, which might have been "pagan" pueblos (Adams and Chávez 1956:41).

Morfi described Ciénega as a ranch on the Río de Santa Fé directly west of Alamo. It was home to four families (Thomas 1932:93).

Pike's 1807 map contained a town marked "Vitior" which Coues identified in 1895 as being at or near La Bajada. However, it has also been connected to the town of Cienega or Sienega, on a creek of the same name and two miles southeast of Cieneguilla (Coues 1895:II.613-614; III.950).

El Rancho de Las Golondrinas

Era: 18th and 19th Century

Significance: The Rancho de las Golondrinas, near La Ciénega, is now an historic site, commemorating many themes of Spanish colonial life, including the Camino Real.

Annotated History: According to Schackel, the name Las Golondrinas first appeared in documents in the 1770s. The rancho was also known as the Baca y Terrus hacienda, El Rancho de los Bacas, and the Sandoval ranch. It was directly north of the ranch of El Guicú, a name associated with La Ciénega. El Alamo lay to the north and La Cieneguilla to the west (Schackel 1979:8). El camino del Alamo appears on Urrutia map of Santa Fe dated 1766.

On 9 November 1780 Anza left Santa Fé and traveled four leagues south to the pueblo of Las Golondrinas (Thomas 1932:197). Morfi's description, from 1782, placed Golondrinas next to Alamo on its east. It belonged to the resident Sandoval family (Thomas 1932:93).

William Carr Lane described Las Golondrinas as a ranch twelve miles of good road from Santa Fé (Schackel 1979:30).

El Alamo

Era: 18th and 19th Century

Significance: El Alamo was one of several ranchos in the La Ciénega area at which travelers could rest as they were entering or leaving Santa Fé. The camino del Alamo shown on Urrutia's 1776 map of Santa Fe indicates it is a variant of the Camino Real.

Annotated History: Sandra Kay Schackel writes that El Alamo in the time of Vargas was an abandoned estancia that was just north of La Ciénega and Las Golondrinas (Schackel 1979:6).

Juan Candelaria described Alamo, settled in 1730, as near to and similar to, Ciénega and four leagues from Santa Fé (Armijo 1929:283-284).

On 24 May 1760 Bishop Tamarón reached the house of El Alamo, six leagues from Santo Domingo. He described it as large, with an upper story and many corridors (Adams 1953:203).

In 1782, Morfi described Alamo as a small ranch of one Spanish family one quarter league south of Cieneguilla (Thomas 1932:93).

Cieneguilla

Era: 18th and 19th Century

Significance: Cieneguilla was a *paraje* near Santa Fé for travelers who followed the Río de Santa Fé to or from the capital.

Annotated History: In 1777, Juan Candelaria recalled that the eighteenth- century settlement of Cieneguilla took place in 1698. It was four leagues from Santa Fé and was watered by the Río de Santa Fé (Armijo 1929;282-283).

In 1776 Fray Domínguez wrote that two roads went down from Quemado like a V and led to two settlements or ranchos, both of which were to the southwest. They were two leagues apart and about five leagues from Santa Fé. The higher settlement was called Cieneguilla; it was in a canyon that came down from San Ildefonso Springs where it met the channel of the Santa Fé River. There were a number of springs a little

below this settlement, which he thought were a resurgence of the Santa Fé River. These springs ran west in little ravines (Adams and Chávez 1956:41).

Morfi's 1782 description of New Mexico portrayed "La Ciénegilla" as a ranch four leagues west of Santa Fé on the banks of the Santa Fé River. Nine Spanish families resided at Cieneguilla (Thomas 1932:93).

Pike's 4 March 1807 description of his route south out of the capital is rather vague but as interpreted in 1895 by Elliot Coues it forked near Agua Fria. The left fork met the Santa Fé River at the town of Cieneguilla and then followed it to La Bajada (Coues 1895:II.613-614).

In December 1846, Abert nearly lost his life and then his mule when he attempted a shortcut across some marshy land at Cieneguilla. Only the fact that much of the ground was frozen allowed him to escape and to save the mule (Abert 1962:139).

Agua Fria/Quemado

Era: 19th Century

Significance: While perhaps too close to Santa Fé to see much use as a *paraje*, Quemado and Agua Fria were visited by many travelers into and out of the capital throughout the colonial, Mexican, and U.S. periods.

Annotated History: The 1766 plano drawn by José de Urrutia demonstrates the physical layout of the Villa de Santa Fe. Juan Candelaria remembered that Cristóbal Baca settled Quemado in 1730. Candelaria placed it one and one quarter league from the capital and added that it was irrigated from the Río de Santa Fé (Armijo 1929:284-286). In 1776 Fray Domínguez wrote that Quemado was one league west and at the very outskirts of Santa Fé. It was an Indian pueblo in the old days and had this name because it was purposely burned. The settlement near this place was later called Agua Fría. The burned pueblo was excavated after the Santa Fé River laid part of it bare (Adams and Chávez 1956:41).

When Pike left Santa Fé under Spanish escort on 4 March 1807, he followed a road which took the high ground between the Río de Santa Fé and Arroyo Hondo. Just past Agua Fria it forked, with both forks eventually reaching La Bajada and the Río Grande (Coues 1895:II.613-614). Years later, when Wislizenus prepared to leave Santa Fé for Chihuahua on 8 July 1846, he met the caravan that he was traveling with at their camp in Agua Fria. From there, the caravan took "the usual road, by Algodones, for the Río Grande" (Wislizenus 1848:29).

Palace of the Governors

Santa Fe, New Mexico NATIONAL REGISTER, NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th Century

Significance: Originally constructed in the early 17th century as Spain's seat of government for what is today the American Southwest, the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe chronicles and documents the history of the city, as well as New Mexico and the region. As a Presidio the Palace served many times as an end destination for travelers and supply caravans on the Camino Real. New Governors of the Province of New Mexico and outgoing Governors would travel the Camino Real to and from Mexico. Soldiers from this presidio would escort trains and campaign against Indian Nations along and in the Camino Real corridor. The Palace of the Governors since it was built c. 1610 up to the present day was and remains a keystone landmark on El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro.

Museum exhibits and collections, and library and archives holdings reflect the Spanish colonial, Mexican, U.S. Territorial and Statehood periods of history. The adobe building was designated a Registered National Historic Landmark in 1960, and an American Treasure in 1999.

Annotated History:

Palace of the Governors, by Bruce Ellis

El Palacio-1610

NEW MEXICO'S famed Palace of the Governors, the anvil on which was shaped so much of the history of 'Western America, has been called "the oldest public building, continuously used, within the continental borders of the United States." This claim is too modest. Almost certainly, the Palace is the oldest European-built structure of any kind now standing within the nation's seaboard limits.

We say "almost certainly." The old Palace has no dated cornerstone, and no written account of the laying of its first adobe brick has yet been found. But the Archives of the Indies, in Seville, Spain, still contain a copy of the orders given in March, 1609, to Don Pedro de Peralta, New Mexico's third Spanish governor, directing him to establish a new capital in the province and to have its officials "designate . . . one block of the streets for the erection of Royal Houses." In the spring of 1610, historians believe, the new Villa de Santa Fe was founded. The "Royal Houses" (Casas Reales)—residence of the governor, stronghold and arsenal, civic and military nub of the whole new little settlement—would have received priority over any other construction except, perhaps, that of a temporary church. We can be reasonably sure that by the winter of 1610-11 Governor Peralta had a dirt roof over his head and stout adobe walls around him.

Fourteen hundred miles to the east, other Spaniards had founded St. Augustine, Florida, in 1565. After a first unsuccessful venture on Roanoke Island in 1585 Englishmen came back to Virginia in 1607 and built the little city of Jamestown. All other settlements on the nation's east coast, beginning with the New Amsterdam of the Dutch in 1614 and the English Pilgrim s Plymouth in 1620, were later than Santa Fe.

Today, of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century structures of St. Augustine, which were built of wood, nothing remains. All of Fort Raleigh now visible above ground on Roanoke Island is a reconstruction. Jamestown's first

buildings, also wooden, have vanished. Even the very first Dutch or English-built structures in what are now New York and New England are completely gone.

But Santa Fe's adobe Palace—the first and now the last of Governor Peralta's "Royal Houses"—still stands.

Not much is known of its earliest decades. Archives in Europe and Mexico have yielded tantalizing hints about new apartments built by Peralta's successors in office, a room where Indians masked and robed themselves for dances in the Plaza (much to the disapproval of the churchmen, who were at odds with the govern- ors, most of these years), drawing- rooms and dressing- rooms of the governors 'wives, even a shop in the Palace where one thrifty governor eked out his royal salary by selling chocolate, shoes and hats to the citizens.

By 1680, the walled and fortified "Royal Houses" had grown large enough, we are told, to accommodate "more than a thousand persons, five thousand head of sheep and goats, four hundred horses and mules, and three hundred head of beef cattle, without crowding." All these settlers and their livestock, congregated from upcountry and down, had urgent need of a fort that year. The long-suffering Pueblo Indians had revolted, slaughtering more than four hundred Spaniards in outlying villages, farms and missions, and descending in fury upon Santa Fe. Governor Otermín battled them in the Villa for eight days and flame-filled nights, until they diverted a ditch which supplied the Casas Reales with water—and by this ruse broke, temporarily, Spain's hold upon New Mexico. Out of the main gate of the fort, across Santa Fe's bloody Plaza and through the smoking ruins of the town, Otermín led his people south, to the safety of settlements below what is now El Paso, Texas. There they stayed for twelve years, while the Indians settled down in what their torches had left of Santa Fe.

They made a bonfire of the official archives, which is why we know so little about the preRevolt Palace. Copies of some documents had been sent to Mexico and Spain, but the New

Mexican records there, too, have suffered from looting and fire over the centuries. If floor- plans of the early Casas Reales ever were drawn, they either went up in smoke in 1680 or later, or still await finding by some modern researcher luckier than his fellows thus far.

Reconquest

When Governor and Captain-General Don Diego de Vargas brought his reconquistadores back to Santa Fe in 1692, he found the Casas Reales transformed to a high-walled pueblo, with a fortified main gateway opening on the Plaza and a tower at each of its four corners. It comprised, he said, "what was formerly the major portion of the Palace and Royal Houses of the governor," and he found it such an impregnable stronghold that to retake it on his second trip, a year later, he had to use the Indians' earlier stratagem of cutting off its water supply. And afterwards, bitterly, he accused his successor in office of allowing all those lofty walls and towers, which had given him so much trouble, to fall into ruin.

They were never rebuilt as he wanted them to be, for conditions had changed. Before 1680, the entire Casas compound, covering many acres north of Santa Fe's main plaza, had been at once a fortress, the seat of government, and the governor's residence. New Mexico then had no standing army; all the able-bodied male settlers were at the same time soldiers, subject to military call. They lived on their farms and in their own houses in the Villa. But Vargas brought back with him a paid presidio troop, and its men needed barracks.

These were not completed until many years later, and then they stretched west from the Palace and north in two long rows, along the lines of present- day Grant and Washington Avenues, to what is now Federal Place. There they were joined by another row, east and west. The exteriors formed a wall enclosing a roomy parade- ground, corrals, storerooms and outbuildings—and in the southeast corner the smaller compound of the remaining old *Casas Reales*. This, a rectangle based on the long building on the Plaza which Vargas was the first

to call *El Palacio Real*—the Royal Palace, included stables and guardrooms extending north from the ends of the Palace itself, two inner patios, kitchens and other service quarters, a coach-house and the governor's garden.

With the Palace now changed largely to a civil and domestic establishment, it entered into long years of complaints about leaky roofs, scanty furniture and missing door- keys, posted indignantly down to Mexico by its succession of royal governors. These changed to republican governors in 1822, when Mexico won its independence from Spain, and for the first time a large room in the Palace was fitted up as a meetinghall of elected New Mexico Deputies. It was renamed a Council Hall in 1837, with a change in the form of government, and ten years later, with the United States flag flying over the Palace, it was made ready to house the first session of the Territorial House of Representatives.

The Palace was then half again as long as it is today, its west end being about where the southwest corner of the Museum's Fine Arts Building now stands. There was a tower at this end in which gunpowder had been stored, and near it were the jail and the Legislative Hall. These, in poor condition, were demolished in 1866, when Lincoln Avenue was opened from the Plaza to run north through the then Fort Marcy Military Reservation to the uncompleted Federal Building.

This loss of the western third of the Palace accounts for its former main hall, still running through the building from the Plaza to its inner patio, being off center. The hall undoubtedly was once a covered zaguan, through which horsemen and carriages could pass—the same exit, probably, through which Otermín led his despairing followers on that sad August day of 1680, starting their long flight to Mexico.

U.S. Occupation

The 1860's and 70's saw many other "improvements" of the old Spanish building, by its U.S. Government occupants. The east end, which also had its tower, was largely rebuilt to form two new halls for the Legislature and a separate

Territorial Library. Old outbuildings at the rear were torn down and replaced by a new set much closer to the Palace itself than the others had been, thus reducing the size of the inner patio by more than half. As late as 1880, the patio was completely bare of grass and bore only a single cottonwood tree.

The portal along the front, probably first built in the 1700's (there is no mention of one in Otermín 1680 reports), was a plain affair of peeled logs and a dirt roof when General Stephen Kearny entered Santa Fe and occupied the Palace in August, 1846. It may have been given some thought by the new caretakers soon afterwards (a traveller in 1866 described it as an "American portico"), but it underwent a radical change in 1878. In that year it was replaced by a porch in true mid- Western Victorian style, with posts of milled lumber, painted white, neatly set off by a full-length balustrade on the roof. This, which in its proud designer's words "elicited many expressions of gratification and pleasure,"

survived until 1913, when the present portal in New Mexican Spanish style was built.

The records reveal that from time to time, during its long history, the Palace became so dilapidated that the incumbent governors—or their wives—refused to live in it, and found quarters elsewhere in Santa Fe. Except for its thirteen years as an Indian pueblo, however, and also for a brief two months in 1862 when Sibley's Confederates were in Santa Fe, it never ceased to be the official residence and office of the Spanish, Mexican and United States civil and military governors from 1610 to 1900, when New Mexico's second "new" capitol building was erected. All in all—actual, acting and interim, with several serving more than one term—these governors numbered:

Under Spanish rule, 1610 to 1822	59
Under Mexican rule, 1822 to 1846 Under United States rule, 1846 to 1900	14
	24

Brief Chronology of the Palace

- 1610......Built (probably) as the main structure of the "Royal Houses" in New Mexico's new capital.
- 1680......Occupied by the Pueblo Indians, after they had driven the Spaniards from Santa Fe.
- 1693.....Reoccupied by the Spaniards.
- 1807.....Lt. Zebulon Pike, U.S. Army, imprisoned in Palace jail.
- 1822.....Mexican independence. The Palace no longer "Royal."
- 1837......José Gonzales, a Taos Indian, installed as governor during short-lived insurrection; soon afterwards executed.
- 1846.....Occupied by General Stephen Watts Kearny, U.S. Army, on August 18th.
- 1862.....Occupied for two months by invading Confederate army from Texas.
- 1866......West third of building, and old outbuildings at rear, demolished. Extensive remodelling during next few years.
- **1869**......James L. Collins, U.S. Depository, found dead in office in west end of Palace, and safe robbed.
- 1870.....Spanish and Mexican archives, in Palace since 1693, sold by Governor Pile as scrap paper.
- 1878-81....Governor Lew Wallace wrote large port of Ben Hur in Palace.
- 1900.......Palace given up as Capitol, upon completion of new Capitol Building in Santa Fe. Used as private offices, Post Office.
- 1909......Palace became first unit of the newly formed Museum of New Mexico.

Santa Fe Plaza

Santa Fe, New Mexico NATIONAL REGISTER, NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK

Significance: The Santa Fe Plaza was for a number of years the end of the Camino Real.

Annotated History: Castaño de Sosa's party may have passed near the future site of the capital on 7 January 1591 while going from Pecos pueblo to the Tewa pueblos to the north. He noted passing a river after crossing the mountains; this was probably the Santa Fé River just northwest of the present city (Hull 1916:324; Schroeder and Matson 1965:112).

In his 1634 memorial, Fray Benavides reported that Santa Fé contained some 250 Spaniards and their wives, families, and servants, a total of about 1000 people. The original church had collapsed but Benavides oversaw the building of a fine replacement (Hodge, Hammond, and Rey 1945:68). In Vetancurt's 1692 description of prerevolt New Mexico, the area between Santa Domingo and Santa Fé was depicted as flat and no settlements were noted between the two. This seems to indicate that he was thinking of a route through the Galisteo basin from the Río Grande to the capital. Vetancurt described an attractive plaza with some small artillery pieces and noted that the governor, some soldiers, and four priests had lived there before the 1680 revolt (Vetancurt 1961:270-271).

On 4 June 1726 Rivera traveled east from El Pino along the west bank of the Santa Fé river four leagues until he reached the villa of same name. He wrote that it was the capital of the "reino and provincia de la Nueva Mexico," and that its population was made up of Spaniards, mestizos and mulattoes. He stated that it served as the quarters for the presidio's 80 soldiers, whose salaries were paid for by the king (Alessio Robles 1946:52)

On 24 May 1760 Bishop Tamarón came four leagues east from the house of El Alamo to Santa Fé. On 25 May 1760 he visited the principal church, which he described as large, with a spacious nave and a transept adorned by altars and altarscreens, all of which he inspected. He wrote

that two Franciscan friars served this villa. The census showed 379 families of citizens of Spanish and mixed blood, which totaled 1285 persons. But, since Bishop Tamarón confirmed 1532 persons, he was convinced that the census was wrong. He also visited a church dedicated to the Archangel St. Michael. In the plaza, another church, dedicated to the Most Holy Mother of Light, was then being built. The chief founder of this church was the Governor, Francisco Marín del Valle. Tamarón noted that all the buildings of Santa Fé were adobe and that there was no fortress or any formal presidio building. The garrison consisted of 80 mounted soldiers.

In his general description, Tamarón wrote that the villa lay at the foot of a sierra, which was east of it and ran to the north. He explained that water was scarce because the Santa Fé River dried up in the months before harvest. From Santa Fé Bishop Tamarón visited Pecos, Galisteo, Tesuque, Nambe, Pojoaque, Picurís, and Taos (Adams 1953:204-215).

In 1776 Fray Domínguez described Santa Fé as the capital of the kingdom and seat of political and military government and of a royal presidio. He located it about 700 leagues to the north of the "great city of Mexico" and wrote that it was established on a very beautiful site at the foot of the Sierra Madre, which was not far to the east of the villa. The church was almost in the center of the villa, its titular patron "Our Seraphic Father St. Francis" (Adams and Chávez 1956:12).

Domínguez stated that the location and site of Santa Fé was as good as he had pictured it, but that its appearance, design, arrangement and plan did not correspond to its state as a villa. He described it as "a rough stone set in fine metal." He also compared Santa Fé to quarter of Tlatelolco in Mexico City and described its appearance as mournful. His opinion of the adobe houses was that they were made of earth, unadorned by "any artifice of brush or construction." Santa Fé consisted, at the time, of many small ranchos at various distances from one another, with no plan as to their location. There was a semblance of a street, which extended 400 or 500 varas from the west gate of the cemetery of the parish church. According to

Domínguez, this "street" lacked orderly rows of houses. He wrote that the harvest of Santa Fé consisted of wheat, maize, legumes and green vegetables, and fruits such as melon, watermelon and apricots (Adams and Chávez 1956:39-41).

Lafora arrived in the capital of the kingdom of New Mexico, on a good road, on 19 August 1766. He reported that a company of 80 men guarded a population of 2,324, divided among the families of the 80 soldiers, of 274 Spanish vecinos, and of 89 Indians of various nations. He judged the existing fortifications unusable for defense (Alessio Robles 1939:98). On 15 August 1779, Anza described marching north from Santa Fé along the Camino Real to the pueblo of "Pujuaque," where he and his troop stayed the night (Thomas 1932:123). By 10 September 1779, Anza and his army had returned to Santa Fé by way of Taos Pueblo where they picked up the Camino Real leading to the capital (Thomas 1932:139).

Zebulon Pike entered the city of Santa Fé as a prisoner of the Spanish government on 3 March 1807, coming from the north past old Fort Marcy. He described it as being only three streets wide and extending for a mile along the banks of the Río de Santa Fé, which he called a small creek. In 1895, Elliot Coues also referred to the Río de Santa Fé as the "Río Chacito." Pike contrasted the two magnificent churches with the modest appearance of the typical houses. The soldiers were quartered to the north of the central plaza, which was surrounded by the government palace on the north and, across from it, the clergy and public officers. He reported the population of Santa Fé to be 4,500 souls. On the next day, Pike left the capital heading south down the Santa Fé River to the Río Grande (Coues 1895:II.604-613).

The German born Wislizenus found Santa Fé disappointing for a capital when he arrived from Missouri on 30 June 1846. He reported a population of 3,000 in the city itself and 6,000 including nearby settlements. He said that, aside from two churches and the Palace of the Governors, all of the houses were one-story adobes scattered along "irregular, narrow, and dusty" streets. He did admire the mountainous surroundings (Wislizenus 1848:19,28-29).

The Casas Reales, or the Palace of the Governors, was built in 1610 when Santa Fé was established. People took refuge in it during the Indian siege of August 1680. In 1731 it was recorded that Governor Bustamante had "built at his own expense the Casas Reales where the governors reside today" (Adams and Chávez 1956:22). Much of Santa Fé was built between 1610 and 1612. There were later additions, including a large military compound containing arsenals, offices, a jail, a chapel, and the governor's residence and office. The outer walls of adjoining structures served as the defensive walls of the compound and enclosed two interior plazas. The dwellings in these two plazas were three and four stories high (Sánchez 1989:28). The barrio of Analco, across the Río de Santa Fé from the plaza, was one of the main genízaro settlements of New Mexico from its founding at least until the late eighteenth century (Thomas 1932:91-92; Chávez 1979:199).

San Ildefonso Pueblo

New Mexico Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th Century

Significance: San Ildefonso has remained an important pueblo throughout the colonial, Mexican, and U.S. periods.

Ancestors of the residents of San Ildefonso came from the ancient community of Mesa Verde by way of the communities at Frijoles Canyon (Bandelier National Monument). The present village began about the turn of the seventeenth century. As was the case with most of New Mexico's pueblos, the San Ildefonso Indians participated in the Pueblo Revolt.

From 1598 until Santa Fe was established, the Camino Real ran through San Ildefonso headed for San Juan Pueblo.

Santa Clara Pueblo

Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th Century

Significance: Santa Clara has remained an important pueblo throughout the colonial, Mexican, and U.S. periods.

Santa Clara Pueblo was constructed early in the fourteenth century. The Tewa name was K'hapoo ("where roses grow near the water"). The people are living descendants of the Puyé cliff dwellers. The cliff dwellers settled in the cliffs of the Pajarito Plateau late in the 12th century. The area was abandoned in the 1500s because of severe drought. The cliff dwellings are more than a mile long and one to three stories high. The house remains on the mesa top are believed to have contained more than 1,200 rooms.

San Gabriel

New Mexico NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th Century

San Gabriel was the site of the first or second Capitol of Spanish New Mexico. It was established when Juan de Oñate and his colonists moved out of neighboring San Juan Pueblo across the Rio Grande and moved here, called by the Indians Yungue. The colonists renamed it San Gabriel as most of the Indians previously living there, moved into San Juan Pueblo. What the Spaniards did was remodel San Gabriel to their own taste and uses. Like other multistoried pueblos, Yungue had no doors or windows on the first floor. That was for protection during attacks. They climbed ladders to the upper levels and entered the ground floor by descending through holes in the roof.

In their remodeling, the colonists opened doors and windows in the lower level. Evidence of these changes was discovered in 1962 by Ellis and her students.

Digging also revealed the plan of the old plaza. In one of its corners were found tracks of two dogs that had run across the square after a rain.

Their deep footprints in the mud had dried and remained preserved for more than 350 years.

From the historical record, we know next to nothing of daily life in San Gabriel. It did have a cabildo, or Spanish- style town council. And it was also the capital of New Mexico, as mentioned in several documents of the period.

One thing not in doubt is that San Gabriel

survived only a few years. Probably, Oñate soon realized that there was not enough farmland in the area to support both the Indians and the settlers.

Looking around, he chose a new spot, a dozen leagues to the south, as the location for a new capital. On a small river, the land was not occupied by any pueblo Indians.

San Juan Pueblo, Yunge-Yunge

New Mexico NATIONAL REGISTER

Era: 17th, 18th, and 19th Century

San Juan pueblo was existing in 1598 when Oñate came here and established the first capitol of Spanish New Mexico. First named San Juan Bautista, it became later known as San Juan de los Caballeros. In the last quarter of 1598, the Hispanic colonists temporarily moved into San Juan , alongside the Indians. Oñate was planning to build a Spanish Town, to be called San Francisco just south of the pueblo but difficulties caused him to abandon the idea. Instead, the colonists moved across the Rio Grande to a smaller pueblo named Yungue, which he renamed San Gabriel. Most of the Indians vacated the village and took up new homes inside San Juan.